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THE

CHURCH HISTORY OF BRITAIN;

FROM

THE BIRTH OF JESUS CHRIST UNTIL

THE YEAR M.DC.XLVIII.

ENDEAVOURED

BY THOMAS FULLER, D.D.

PREBENDARY OF SARUM.

A NEW EDITION, IN SIX VOLUMES,

BY THE REV. J. S. BREWER, M.A.

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THE
CHURCH HISTORY
OF
BRITAIN.

THE ELEVENTH BOOK,

CONTAINING THE REIGN OF KING CHARLES.

[There is a generation that are pure in their own conceit, and yet are not washed from their filthiness. PROV. xxx. 12.]

TO

THE HONOURABLE

EDWARD MOUNTAGUE, Esq.

SON AND HEIR TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE EDWARD LORD MOUNTAGUE OF BOUGHTON[a].

IT is a strange casualty which an historian[b] reporteth, of five earls of Pembroke, successively, (of the family of Hastings,) that the father of them never saw his son, as born either in his absence or after his death.

---

[a] [This Edward lord Mountague of Boughton, a very able and accomplished gentleman, was the second who bore that title; son of the celebrated lord Mountague, of whom some account is given in note (g.) He succeeded his father in 1644, and in 1646 was nominated with certain other lords and commons to receive the king's person from the Scots and conduct him to Holmeby house. After the restoration he lived mostly at his country-seat, and died 10th of January, 1683. His son Edward, to whom this dedication was inscribed, contrary to the will of his father, had a great share in the restoration, and in persuading his cousin, admiral Edward Mountague, afterwards earl of Sandwich, to serve his majesty, Charles II. After the restoration he was appointed master of the horse to the queen of Charles II., but being dismissed from that post, and going to sea with his kinsman, the earl of Sandwich, he was slain in the attack of the Dutch East-India ships at Bergen in Norway, 3rd of August, 1665, in the twenty-fifth year of his age. See Collins' Peerage, vol. i. p. 333.]

[b] Camd. Brit. in Pembrokeshire.

I know not whether more remarkable, the fatality of that, or the felicity of your family; where, in a lineal descent, five have followed one another; the father not only surviving to see his son of age, but also (yourself excepted, who in due time may be) happy in their marriage, hopeful in their issue.

These five have all been of the same Christian name: yet is there no fear of confusion, to the prejudice of your pedigree, (which heralds commonly in the like cases complain of,) seeing each of them being, as eminent in their kind, so different in their eminency, are sufficiently distinguished by their own character to posterity.

Of these, the first a judge[c]; for his gravity and learning famous in his generation.

The second, a worthy patriot and bountiful housekeeper, blessed in a numerous issue; his four younger sons affording a bishop to the church[d], a judge and peer to the state[e], a commander to the camp, and an officer to the court[f].

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[c] [Edward, son of Thomas Mountague, chief justice of the common pleas in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. See a further account of him by our author in this History, viii. 1. §. 1. His son, who was knighted in 1567, served in parliament as knight of the shire of Northampton; and was much celebrated for his piety, justice, and other virtues. He died Jan. 26, 1601. See Collins' Peerage, vol. i. 324.]

[d] [James Mountague, bishop of Winchester.

He had six sons, the names of the others were sir Walter and sir Charles, not mentioned here.]

[e] [Henry, earl of Manchester, who professed the common law, and from recorder of London came to be lord chief justice of the king's bench, afterwards lord treasurer of England, where he continued but a short time; then was made president of the council of state, (for he and chancellor Bacon were put out of their places together,) and at last died lord privy seal. Warwick's Chas. I. p. 245.]

The third was the first baron of the house; of whose worth I will say nothing, because I can never say enough[g].

The fourth, your honourable father, who because he doth still, and may he long, survive; I cannot do the right which I would to his merit, without doing wrong, which I dare not, to his modesty.

You are the fifth in a direct line, and let me acquaint you with what the world expected (not to say requireth) of you, to dignify yourself with some select and peculiar desert, so to be differenced from your ancestors, that your memory may not be mistaken in the homonyme of your Christian names; which to me seemeth as improbable, as that a burning beacon (at a reasonable distance) should not be beheld; such the brightness of your parts and advantage of your education.

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[f] [Sir Sidney Mountague, father of the earl of Sandwich, and master of requests to James I. He refused to take the oath to live and die with the earl of Essex, in 1642, as other members of the commons had done, for which he was ousted from the house. See Warwick's Chas. I. p. 243.]

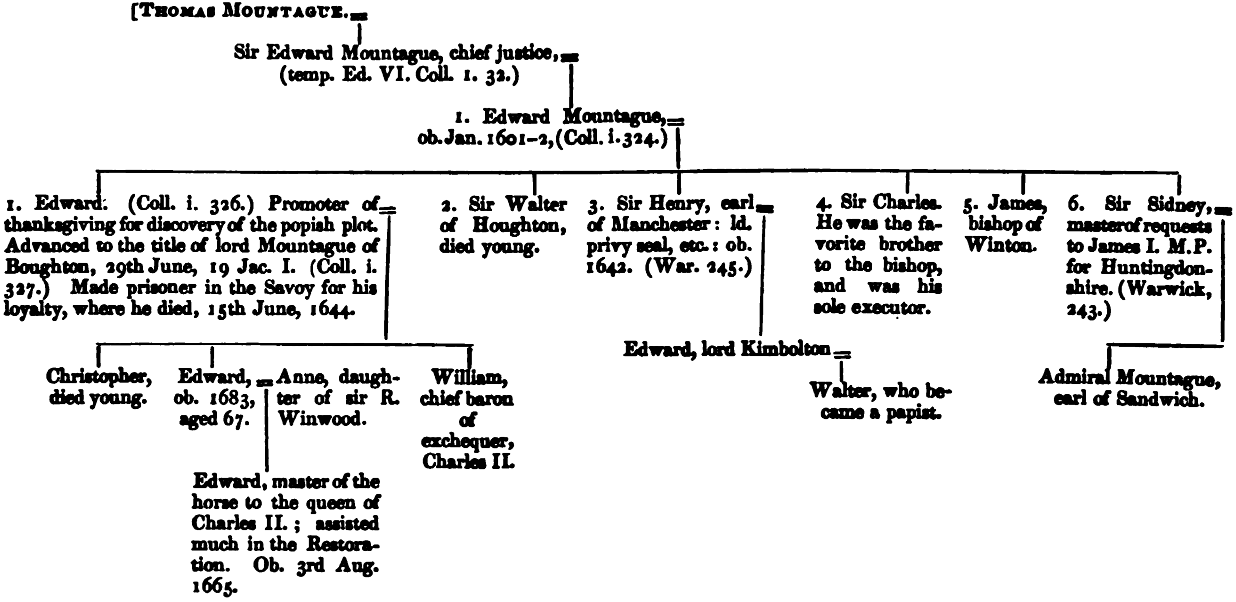
[g] [The celebrated Edward, lord Mountague of Boughton, a man of a plain upright English spirit, of a steady courage, of a devout heart, and a true son of the Church of England; so severe and regular in his life, that he was by most men reckoned a puritan; and yet so attached to the liturgy of the Church of England, that when he had married his eldest son (father of the Edward to whom this book is dedicated) unto secretary Winwood's eldest daughter, who affected not the common prayer, which he used daily in his house, he would say to her, "Daughter, if you come to *visit* me, I will never ask why you come not to prayers; but if you come to *cohabit* with me, pray with me or not live with me." (Warwick's Chas. I. p. 243. ed. 1813). This fine old nobleman and true patriot, of whom some beautiful anecdotes are related by Collins in his Peerage, (vol. i. p. 326, ed. 2.) was, for his loyalty to king Charles I., apprehended by command of the members who sat at Westminster, and made prisoner in the Savoy, near to the Strand, in London, where he died, 15th June, 1644. He was the person who proposed the thanksgiving day for discovery of the popish plot.]

You was bred in that school which hath no superior in England; and successively in those two universities which have no equal in Europe. Such the stock of your native perfection before graffed with the foreign accomplishments of your travels. So that men confidently promise themselves to read the best, last, and largest edition of "Mer-"cator's Atlas," in your experience and discourse.

That good God who went with you out of your native country, and since watched over you in foreign parts, return with you in safety in due time, to his glory, and your own good; which is the daily desire of

Your Honour's most devoted Servant,

THOMAS FULLER.


[Thomas Mountague. =
Sir Edward Mountague, chief justice, = (temp. Ed. VI. Coll. i. 32.)
1. Edward Mountague, = ob. Jan. 1601–2, (Coll. i. 324.)
1. Edward. (Coll. i. 326.) Promoter of thanksgiving for discovery of the popish plot. Advanced to the title of lord Mountague of Boughton, 29th June, 19 Jac. I. (Coll. i. 327.) Made prisoner in the Savoy for his loyalty, where he died, 15th June, 1644. =
2. Sir Walter of Houghton, died young.
3. Sir Henry, earl of Manchester: ld. privy seal, etc.: ob. 1642. (War. 245.) =
4. Sir Charles. He was the favorite brother to the bishop, and was his sole executor.
5. James, bishop of Winton.
6. Sir Sidney, = master of requests to James I. M.P. for Huntingdonshire. (Warwick, 243.)
Christopher, died young.
Edward, = ob. 1683, aged 67.
Anne, daughter of sir R. Winwood.
William, chief baron of exchequer, Charles II.
Edward, master of the horse to the queen of Charles II.; assisted much in the Restoration. Ob. 3rd Aug. 1665.
Edward, lord Kimbolton =
Walter, who became a papist.
Admiral Mountague, earl of Sandwich.

I have subjoined this pedigree for a clearer understanding of the descent of this family, to which Fuller refers in the foregoing dedication.]

THE
CHURCH HISTORY
OF
BRITAIN.

BOOK XI.

A.D. 1625.
1 Charles I.

News of the king's death brought to Whitehall.

THE sad news of king James his death was soon brought to Whitehall, at that very instant when Dr. Laud, bishop of St. David's, was preaching therein. This caused him to [a]break off his sermon in the midst thereof, out of civil compliance with the sadness of the congregation; and the same day was king Charles proclaimed at Whitehall [b].

His solemn funerals.

2. On the seventh of May following, king James his funerals were performed very solemnly in the collegiate church at Westminster, his lively statue being presented on a magnificent hearse [c]. King Charles was present thereat: for though modern state used of late to lock up the chief mourner in his chamber, where his grief must be presumed

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[a] See his own Diary on that day, [p. 15.]

[b] [See the account of it in Rushworth, vol. i. p. 169.]

[c] [The body of the late king was brought from Theobald's into Somerset house, where it lay in state for a considerable time. It was carried thence with great solemnity on Saturday, 7th of May, to St. Peter's church in Westminster, where it was solemnly interred. See Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 132.]

A.D. 1625. 1 Charles I.

too great for public appearance, yet the king caused this ceremony of sorrow so to yield to the substance thereof, and pomp herein to stoop to piety, that in his person he sorrowfully attended the funerals of his father.

Dr. Williams his text, sermon, and parallel betwixt king Solomon and king James.

3. Dr. Williams, lord keeper and bishop of Lincoln, preached the sermon, taking for his text 2 Chron. ix. 29, 30, and part of the 31st verse, containing the happy reign, quiet death, and stately burial of king Solomon. The effect of his sermon was to advance a parallel betwixt two peaceable princes, king Solomon and king James. A parallel which willingly went, (not to say ran of its own accord,) and when it chanced to stay, was fairly led on by the art and ingenuity of the bishop, not enforcing, but improving the conformity betwixt these two kings in ten particulars, all expressed in the text, as we read in the vulgar Latin, somewhat different from the new translation.

King Solomon.	*King James.*
1. His eloquence, *the rest of the words of Solomon.*	1. Had [d]*profluentem, et quæ principem deceret, eloquentiam.*
2. His actions, *and all that he did.*	2. Was eminent in his actions of religion, justice, war, and peace.
3. A well within to supply the same, *and his wisdom.*	3. So wise, "that there was "nothing that any [e]would "learn, which he was not "able to teach."
4. The preservation thereof to eternity; *Are they not written in the book of the acts*	4. As Trajan was nicknamed *herba parietaria*, "a "wall-flower," because his

[d] Tacitus of Augustus.

[e] Sermon, p. 59.

of Solomon, made by Nathan the prophet, Ahijah the Shilonite, and Iddo the seer?	name was engraven on every wall; so king James shall be called *herba chartacea,* "the "paper-flower," and his glory be read in [f] all writers.
5. He reigned in Jerusalem, a great city, by him enlarged and repaired.	5. He reigned in the capital city of London, by him much augmented.
6. Over all Israel, the whole empire.	6. Over Great Britain, by him happily united, and other dominions.
7. A great space of time, full *forty years.*	7. In all fifty-eight, (though over all Britain but two and twenty years,) reigning as [g] better, so also longer, than king Solomon.
8. *Then he slept,* importing no sudden and violent dying, but a premeditate and affected kind of sleeping.	8. Left the world most resolved, most prepared, embracing his grave for his bed.
9. *With his fathers,* David especially; his soul being disposed of in happiness.	9. Reigning gloriously with God in heaven.
10. And was buried in the city of David.	10. Whilst his body was interred with all possible solemnity in king Henry the Seventh his chapel.

Be it here remembered, that in this parallel the bishop premised to set forth Solomon, not in his full proportion, faults and all, but half faced, (*imagine lusca,* as Apelles painted Antigonus, to conceal the want of his eye,) adding, that Solomon's vices could be no blemish to king James, wh resembled him only in his choicest virtues. He concluded all with that verse, Ecclesiasticus xxx. 4. *Though his father*

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[f] Sermon, p. 61.

[g] Ibid. p. 66.

A.D. 1625. 1 Charles I. *die, yet he is as though he were not dead, for he hath left one behind him that is like himself:* in application to his present majesty[h].

Exceptions taken at his sermon.

4. Some auditors who came thither rather to observe than edify, cavil than observe, found or made faults in the sermon, censuring him for touching too often, and staying too long, on an harsh string; three times straining the same, making eloquence too essential, and so absolutely necessary in a king, that the want thereof made Moses in a [i]manner refuse all government, though offered by God; that [k]no man ever got great power without eloquence: Nero, being the first of the Cæsars, *qui alienæ facundiæ eguit,* "who usurped another "man's language to speak for him." Expressions which might be forborne in the presence of his son and successor, whose impediment in speech was known to be great, and mistook to be greater. Some conceived him too long in praising the past, too short in promising for the present king, (though saying much of him in a little;) and the bishop's adversaries, (whereof then no want at court,) some took distate, others made advantage thereof. Thus is it easier and better for us to please one God, than many men with our sermons. However, the sermon was publicly set forth by the printer (but not by the express command) of his majesty, which gave but the steadier mark to his enemies, noting the marginal notes thereof, and making all his sermon the text of their captious interpretations.

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[h] [This Sermon, under the title of "Great Britain's Solo"mon," will be found in Somers' Tracts, vol. ii. p. 33; and an epitome of it in Rushworth's Collections, vol. i. p. 164.]

[i] Sermon, p. 16.

[k] Ibid. p. 5.

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1 Charles I.

Discontents begin in the court.

5. Now began animosities to discover themselves in the court, whose sad influences operated many years after, many being discontented that on this change they received not proportionable advancement to their expectations. It is the prerogative of the King of heaven alone, that he maketh all his sons heirs, all his subjects favorites, the gain of one being no loss to the other; whereas the happiest kings on earth are unhappy herein, that, unable to gratify all their servants (having many suitors for the same place) by conferring a favour on one, they disoblige all other competitors, conceiving themselves, as they make the estimate of their own deserts, as much (if not more) meriting the same preferment.

Dr. Preston a great favorite.

6. As for doctor Preston, he still continued and increased in the favor of the king and duke, it being much observed, that on the day of king James his death, he [1]rode with prince and duke in a coach shut

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[1] See his Life, p. 99, written by Thomas Ball, a puritan, and published at the end of Clark's Martyrology, ed. 1677. This artful and designing man, who veiled a discontented and ambitious spirit under the cloak of religious zeal, to ingratiate himself with the duke of Buckingham, (anxious at that time to repair his credit by some popular measure,) proposed to him the spoliation of the church's lands. His conduct is accurately described by bishop Hacket, whose moderation and piety is a sufficient warrant for nothing being exaggerated in his narrative. "This politic man," he observes, "that he might "feel the pulse of the court, "had preferred himself to "be chaplain to the prince, "and wanted not the intelli"gence of all dark mysteries "through the Scotch especi"ally of his highness' bed"chamber. These gave him "countenance more than others, "because he prosecuted the "endeavours of their country"man, Knox. To the duke "he repairs, and be assured "he had more skill than bois"terously to propound to him "the extirpation of the bishops. "Therefore he began to dig "further off, and to heave at "the dissolution of cathedral "churches, with their deans "and chapters, the seminary "from whence the ablest scho-

down from Theobald's to London, applying comfort now to one now to the other on so sad an occasion. His party would persuade us, that he might have chose his own mitre, much commending the moderation of his mortified mind, denying all preferment which courted his acceptance; verifying the anagram which a [m]friend of his made on his name, Johannes

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"lars were removed to bishoprics. At his audience with "the duke, he told him he was "sorry his grace's actions were "not so well interpreted abroad "as godly men thought they "deserved. That such murmurings as were but vapours "in common talks might prove "to be tempests when a parliament met. That his safest "way was to anchor himself "upon the love of the people; "and let him persuade himself "he should not fail to be master of that achievement if he "would profess himself not "among those that are Protestants at large, and never "look inward to the centre of "religion, but become a warm "and zealous Christian that "would employ his best help "strenuously to lop off from "this half-reformed church the "superfluous branches of Romish superstition that much "disfigured it. Then he named "the quire-service of cathedral "and collegiate churches, with "the apanages which were "maintained with vast wealth "and lands of excessive commodity to feed fat, lazy, and "unprofitable drones; and yet "all that chanting and pomp "hindered the heavenly power "and simplicity of prayer, and "furthered not the preaching "of the gospel. And now, "says he, let your grace observe all the ensuing emoluments if you will lean to "this counsel; God's glory "shall be better set forth; "(that's ever the quail-pipe to "bring worldlings into the "snares of sacrilege;) the lands "of those chapters escheating "to the crown by the dissolution of their foundations, will "pay the king's debts. Your "grace hath many alliances of "kindred all sucking from you, "and the milk of those breasts "will serve them all and nourish them up to great growth "with the best seats in the "nation. Lastly, your grace "shall not only surmount envy, "but turn the darling of the "commonwealth, and be reverenced by the best operators "in parliament as a father of a "family; and if a crum stick "in the throat of any considerable man that attempts to "make a contrary part, it will "be easy to wash it down with "manors, woods, royalties, "tythes, &c. the large product "of those superstitious plantations." Hacket's Life of Williams, p. 204.]

[m] Mr. Ayrs of Lincoln's Inn.

Prestonius, *En stas pius in honore.* Indeed he was conceived to hold the helm of his own party, able to steer it to what point he pleased, which made the duke, as yet, much to desire his favour [n].

Mr. Mountague his character.

7. A book came forth called Appello Cæsarem, made by Mr. Mountague. He formerly had been fellow of King's College in Cambridge, at the present a parson of Essex and fellow of Eton; one much skilled in the fathers and ecclesiastical antiquity, and in the Latin and Greek tongues. Our great [o]antiquary confesseth as much (*Græce simul et Latine doctus*) though pens were brandished betwixt them; and virtues allowed by one's adversaries may pass for undeniable truths. These his great parts were attended with tartness of writing, very sharp the nib of his pen, and much gall in his ink, against such as opposed him. However, such the equability of the sharpness of his style he was unpartial therein, be he ancient or modern writer,

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[n] [His character is thus set forth by Dr. Heylyn: "His "principles and engagements "were too well known by those "which governed affairs to "venture him unto any such "great trust in church or state; "and his activity so suspected "that he would not have been "long suffered to continue "preacher at Lincoln's Inn. "As for his intimacy with the "duke, too violent to be long "lasting, it proceeded not from "any good opinion which the "duke had of him, but that he "found how instrumental he "might be to manage that pre- "vailing party to the king's "advantage. But when it was "found that he had *more of the* "*serpent in him than the dove,* "and that he was not tract- "able in steering the helm of "his own party by the court- "compass, he was discounte- "nanced and laid by, as not "worth the keeping. He "seemed the court-meteor for "a while, raised to a sudden "height of expectation; and "having flashed and blazed a "little, went out again, and "was as suddenly forgotten." Fuller appears to acknowledge the justice of these remarks, and therefore they are probably correct. See "The Appeal, "&c.," part iii. p. 2; see also note p. 13.]

[o] Selden De Diis Syris, p. 362.

Papist or Protestant, that stood in his way, they should all equally taste thereof[p].

Setteth forth his Appello Cæsarem.

8. Pass we from the author to his book, whereof this was the occasion. He had lately written satirically enough against the Papists in confutation of The Gagger of Protestants. Now two divines of Norwich diocess, Mr. Yates and Mr. Ward, informed against him for dangerous errors of Arminianism and Popery, deserting our cause instead of defending it. Mr. Mountague, in his own vindication, writes a second book, licensed by Francis White, dean of Carlisle[q], finished and partly printed in the reign of James, to whom the author intended the dedication. But on king James his death, it seems it descended by succession on king Charles his son, to whom Mr. Mountague applied the words which Ockam once used to Lewis of Bavaria, emperor of Germany, *Domine imperator defende me gladio, et ego te defendam calamo*, "Lord emperor, defend me "with thy sword, and I will defend thee with my "pen." Many bitter passages in this his book gave great exception, whereof largely hereafter.

Queen Mary her first arrival at Dover.

9. On Sunday, being the twelfth of June, about seven of the clock at night, queen Mary landed at Dover; at what time a piece of ordnance being

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[p] [Fuller is not very favorable to Dr. Richard Montague, certainly one of the ablest controversialists and most learned men of his times. Nor has he by any means done justice to the "*Appello Cæsarem*" of that writer, a work ably written, and containing passages of great beauty. Unfortunately, any one who opposed the doctrines of Calvin was at this time branded with the name of Papist, and persecuted as such. This was the lot of Montague, who opposed the religious principles of Hall, Davenant, and others, and for this he has met with a very scanty measure of justice from our author.]

[q] [The author of the Reply to Fisher the Jesuit, 1620.]

discharged from the castle, flew in fitters, yet did nobody any harm. Moe were fearful at the presage than thankful for the providence[r]. Next day, the king coming from Canterbury met her at Dover, whence with all solemnity she was conducted to Somerset house in London, where a chapel was new prepared for her devotion, with a convent adjoining of Capuchin friars, according to the articles of her marriage[s].

The king rescueth Mr. Mountague from the house of commons.

10. A parliament began at London, wherein the first statute agreed upon was for the more strict observation of the Lord's day; which day, as it first honoured the king, (his reign beginning thereon,)

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[r] [Laud's Diary, p 18.]

[s] [" In all this, nothing true " but that the new queen was " conducted with all solemnity " from Dover to London. For " first, although there was a " chapel prepared, yet was it " not prepared for her, nor at " Somerset house. The chapel " which was then prepared, " was not prepared for her, " but the Lady Infanta, built " in the king's house at St. " James's, at such time as the " treaty with Spain stood upon " good terms, and then intended " for the devotions of the " princess of Wales, not the " queen of England. Secondly, " the articles of the marriage " make no mention of the Capuchin friars, nor any con- " vent to be built for them. " The priests who came over " with the queen were by agreement to be all of the " Oratorian order, as less sus- " pected by the English, whom " they had never provoked, as " had the Jesuits, and most " other of the monastic or- " ders, by their mischievous " practices. But these Orato- " rians having been sent back " with the rest of the French, " anno 1626, and not willing to " expose themselves to the hazard of a second expulsion, " the Capuchins under father " Joseph made good the place. " The breach with France, the " action at the Isle of Rhee, " and the loss of Rochelle, did " all occur before the Capu- " chins were thought of or ad- " mitted hither. And thirdly, " some years after the making " of the peace between the " crowns, which was in the lat- " ter end of 1628, and not be- " fore, the queen obtained that " these friars might have leave " to come over to her, some " lodgings being fitted for them " in Somerset house, and a new " chapel then and there built " for her devotion." Heylin in " The Appeal, &c.," part iii. p. 2. Rushworth gives a full account of the queen's espousals, Coll. vol. i. p. 173.]

A. D. 1625. 1 Charles I.

so the king first honoured it by passing an act for the greater solemnity thereof. The house of commons fell very heavy on Mr. Mountague for many bitter passages in his book; who in all probability had now been severely censured, but that the king himself was pleased to interpose in his behalf, signifying to the house, "that those things which were then "spoken and determined concerning Mountague "without his privity did not please him," who by his court friends being employed in the king's service, his majesty signified to the parliament, that he "thought his chaplains (whereof Mr. Mountague was "one) might have as much protection as the servant "of an ordinary burgess," nevertheless his bond of two thousand pounds wherewith he was tailed continued uncancelled, and was called on the next parliament[t].

[t] [The best account of Dr. Mountague's book is given by Dr. Heylyn in his Life of Archbishop Laud, p. 124, who observes that the Jesuits and Papists, being very busy at this time in gaining proselytes, had begun to infest a village in Essex called Stamford-Rivers. "The rector of that church "was Richd. Mountague, B.D. "prebend of Windsor, and one "of the fellows of Eton col- "lege; a man exceedingly well "versed in all the learning of "Greeks and Romans, and as "well studied in the fathers, "councils, and all other an- "cient monuments of the Chris- "tian church. Desirous to free "his parish from this haunt, "he left some propositions at "the house of one of his neigh- "bours, which had been fre- "quently visited by these night- "spirits, with this declaration "thereunto; that if any of "those which essayed that walk "could convince him in any "of the same, he would im- "mediately subscribe and be a "Papist. After long expecta- "tion, instead of answering to "his queries, one of them leaves "a short pamphlet for him, en- "titled, *A new Gag for the old* "*Gospel;* in which it was pre- "tended, that the doctrine of "the Protestants should be con- "futed out of the very words "of their own English Bibles. "This book he was required to "answer..... But in perusing "of that book, he found that "besides some few doctrines "which properly and truly "did belong to the Church of "England, there were crowded

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The parliament removed to Oxford, and brake up in discontent.

11. The plague increasing in London, the parliament was removed to Oxford. But alas! no avoiding God's hand. The infection followed, or rather met the houses there, (whereof worthy Dr. Chaloner died[u], much lamented,) yet were the members of parliament not so careful to save their own persons from the plague, as to secure the land from a worse and more spreading contagion, the daily growth of popery. In prevention whereof, they presented a petition to his majesty, containing sixteen particulars, all which were most graciously answered by his majesty, to their full satisfaction. Thus this meeting began hopefully and cheerfully, proceeded turbulently and suspiciously, brake off suddenly and

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"into it all points of Calvinism, such heterodoxies and outlandish fancies as the Church of England never owned. And therefore in his answer to that *Popish Gagger*, he severed or discriminated the opinions of particular men from the authorized doctrines of this church; leaving the one to be maintained by their private fautors, and only defending and maintaining the other. And certainly, had he not been a man of a mighty spirit, and one that easily could contemn the cry and clamors which were raised against him for so doing, he could not but have sunk immediately under the burthen of disgrace, and the fears of ruin which that performance drew upon him." This answer came out under the quaint title of "A Gag for the new Gospel?—No, a new Gag for an old Goose, who would undertake to stop all Protestant Mouths for ever with 276 Places out of their own English Bibles, &c. 1625." Out of this book, Yates and Ward, two preachers in Ipswich, were employed to gather such points as they conceived to lean to Popery and Arminianism, to be presented to the censure of the following parliament. Of which information Montague having obtained a copy, besought his majesty's protection, and wrote his book, entitled "Appello Cæsarem." But king James dying before it had gone through the press, it was presented to king Charles at the beginning of his reign. A committee of bishops seems also to have been appointed by the king to report on the subject. See the letters in the Appendix.]

[u] [Dr. Edward Chaloner was principal of St. Alban Hall. See an account of him in Wood's Athen. vol. i. p. 496.]

sorrowfully, the reason whereof is to be fetched from our civil historians.

Dr. James his motion in the convocation.

12. The convocation kept here is scarce worth the mentioning, seeing little the appearance thereat, nothing the performance therein. Dean Bowles, the prolocutor, absented himself for fear of infection, Dr. Thomas Goad officiating in his place, and their meeting was kept in the chapel of Merton College. Here Dr. James, that great book man, made a motion, that all manuscript fathers in the libraries of the universities, and elsewhere in England, might be perused, and that such places in them as had been corrupted in popish editions, (much superstition being generated from such corruptions,) might faithfully be printed according to those ancient copies[x]. Indeed, though England at the dissolving of abbeys lost moe manuscripts than any country of Christendom (of her dimensions) ever had, yet still enough were left her, if well improved, to evidence the truth herein to all posterity. This design might have been much beneficial to the Protestant cause, if prosecuted with as great endeavour as it was propounded with good intention: but alas! this motion was ended when it was ended, expiring in the place with the words of the mover thereof.

The insolence of Papists seasonably restrained.

13. The king, according to his late answer in the parliament at Oxford, issued out a commission to the judges to see the law against recusants put in execution. This was read in all the courts of

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[x] [See Wilkins' Concil. vol. iv. p. 469. There is an unpublished letter addressed by him to Dr. Ward upon this subject, in Tan. MSS. lxxiv. It was a subject which he had much at heart, as appears by several of his letters to Usher. See Parr's Usher, p. 303. A motion to the same effect was also made in the convocation of 1624. See Wilkins, ibid.]

judicature at Reading, (where Michaelmas term was kept,) and a letter directed to the archbishop of Canterbury to take special care for the discovery of Jesuits, seminary priests, &c. within his province. A necessary severity, seeing Papists (presuming on protection by reason of the late match) were grown very insolent. And a popish lord, when the king was at chapel, was heard to prate on purpose louder in a gallery adjoining than the chaplain prayed, whereat the king was so moved that he sent him this message: "Either come and do as we do, or "I will make you prate further off."

Several writers against Mr Mountague.

14. In this and the next year, many books, from persons of several abilities and professions, were written against Mr. Mountague, by

i. Dr. Sutcliffe, dean of Exeter; one who was *miles emeritus*, age giving him a supersedeas, save that his zeal would employ itself, and some conceived that his choler became his old age.

ii. Mr. Henry Burton, who then began to be well (as afterwards too well) known to the world.

iii. Mr. Francis Rowse, a layman by profession.

iv. Mr. Yates, a minister of Norfolk, formerly a fellow of Emmanuel in Cambridge; he entitles his book "Ibis ad Cæsarem."

v. Dr. Carleton, bishop of Chichester.

vi. Anthony Wotton, divinity professor in Gresham College.

In this army of writers the strength is conceived to consist in the rear, and that the last wrote the solidest confutations. Of these six, dean Sutcliffe is said to have chode heartily; Mr. Rowse meant honestly; Mr. Burton wrote plainly; bishop Carle-

A.D. 1625. 1 Charles I. ton very piously; Mr. Yates learnedly; and Mr. Wotton most solidly[y].

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[y] [The divines who were sent to the Synod of Dort were extremely mortified by the remarks of Mountague in this and his other pamphlet. In a letter of Dr. John Davenant, then bishop of Salisbury, to Ward, master of Sidney College, he thus speaks of Mountague: "Your vindicating of those "that were at the Synod of "Dort from the wash and filth "in perfection laid on us by "Mr. Mountague, was a laudable and necessary work. I "could wish for his own good "that he had a more modest "conceipt of himself, and a "less base opinion of all "others who jump not with "him in his mongrel opinions. "He mightily deceives himself in taking it for granted "that Dr. Overall, or Bucer, "or Luther, were ever of his "mind in the point of Predestination, or falling from "grace; the contrary may evidently be shewn out of their "writings. But the truth is, "he never understood what "Bucer or Luther mean, when "they speak of extinguishing "faith or losing grace; and "as little does he understand "the canon of our church, "which he makes his main "foundation. Whether Reprobus may be mere *justificatus, verum et vivum membrum sub Christo capite, vere* "*adoptatus*, I confess may out "of Aug. and Prosp. be probably held both ways. But "yet let all places which seem "to imply contradiction about "this matter be laid together, "and such other as may serve "for interpretation be also cast "into the balance, and in my "opinion it will be found that "S. Augustine does more incline to the opinion, that only "the predestinate attain unto "a true estate of justification, "regeneration, and adoption, "&c. Oct. 10, 1625." Tan. MSS. lxxii. p. 65.

So in another letter.

— "I am afraid Mr. Mountague his book will breed himself and others much trouble "whensoever a parliament shall "be called. His opinion concerning predestination and "total falling from grace is "undoubtedly contrary to the "common tenet of the English "Church ever since we were "born. Against our next meeting you shall have our opinion "concerning the two theses. "For Dr. Overall, I know not "to the contrary, but it was "his opinion that some, not "elected by the working of "universal sufficient grace, did "or might sometimes attain to "an estate of justification and "regeneration, and yet fall "away and perish. But for "Luther and Bucer, I am resolved that they never thought "any reprobate to have ever "obtained the state of a truly "faithful, justified, adopted, "and sanctified man. But they "affirm that faith and the grace

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Mr. Mountague left to defend himself.

15. I remember not at this time any of master Mountague's party engaged in print in his behalf; whether because they conceived this their champion sufficient of himself to encounter all opposers, or because they apprehended it unsafe (though of the same judgment) to justify a book which was grown so generally offensive. Insomuch, as his majesty himself, sensible of his subjects' great distaste thereat, (sounded by the duke of Buckingham to that purpose,) was resolved to leave Mr. Mountague to stand or fall, according to the justice of his cause. The duke imparted as much to Dr. Laud, bishop of St. David's, who conceived it of such ominous concernment, that he entered the same in his diary, viz. "Methinks I see a cloud arising and threatening "the Church of England; God of his mercy dissi-"pate it."

A maim on the emblem of peace.

16. The day of the king's coronation drawing near, his majesty sent to survey and peruse the regalia, or royal ornaments, which then were to be used[z]. It happened that the left wing of the dove on the sceptre was quite broken off, by what casualty God himself knows. The king sent for Mr. Acton,

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"of the Spirit cannot stand to-"gether with impenitency in "any mortal sin: meaning "thereby the act of faith ap-"prehending justification, and "the working of the Spirit "sealing unto us our justifica-"tion. But that the state of "regeneration, or adoption, or "justification, (as it respects "all sins fore-passed,) was "thereby dissolved, they never "thought.—" Dec. 5, 1625. Jo. Sarum to Dr. Ward. Tan. lxxii. p. 68.]

[z] [This account of the coronation of king Charles, Fuller tells us he received from "a "doctor of divinity still alive, "rich in learning and piety, "present on the place, and an "exact observer of all passa-"ges." See "The Appeal," &c. part iii. p. 4. See also a letter written at the time by sir S. D'Ewes on the same subject in Ellis' Orig. Lett. iii. 213.]

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then his goldsmith, commanding him that the very same should be set on again. The goldsmith replied, that it was impossible to be done so fairly, but that some mark would remain thereof. To whom the king in some passion returned[a], "If you will not do "it, another shall." Hereupon Mr. Acton carried it home, and got another dove of gold to be artificially set on; whereat, when brought back, his majesty was well contented, as making no discovery thereof[b].

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[a] His son succeeding his father in that place, and then present, attested to me the truth hereof.

[b] [" Two things there were " remarkable in this coronation, which seemed to have " something in them of presage. " Senhouse, who had been once " his chaplain when prince of " Wales, and was now bishop " of Carlisle, had the honor to " preach upon the day of that " great solemnity. An eloquent man he was reputed, " and one that could very well " express a passion; but he " had chosen such a text as " was more proper for a funeral than a coronation; his " text being this, viz. *I will* " *give thee a crown of life*, " Apoc. ii. 10. and was rather " thought to put the new king " in mind of his death than his " duty in government; and to " have been his funeral sermon " when he was alive, as if he " were to have none when he " was to be buried. It was " observed also that his majesty on that day was clothed " in white, contrary to the custom of his predecessors, who " were on that day clad in purple. And this he did not " out of any necessity, for want " of purple velvet enough to " make a suit, (for he had many " yards of it in his outward " garment,) but at his own " choice only, to declare that " virgin purity with which he " came to be espoused unto his " kingdom. White (as we " know) is the colour of the " saints, who are represented " to us in white robes by St. " John in the Revelation; and " purple is the imperial and " regal colour. And this some " looked on also as an evil presage that the king, laying " aside his purple, the robe of " majesty, should clothe himself in white, the robe of innocence; as if it thereby " were fore-signified that he " should divest himself of that " royal majesty, which might " and would have kept him " safe from affront and scorn, " to rely wholly on the innocence of a virtuous life, which " did expose him finally to calamitous ruin." Heylyn's Life of Laud, p. 144.]

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A dilemma well waved.

17. The bishop of Lincoln, lord keeper, was now daily descendent in the king's favor; who so highly distasted him, that he would not have him, as dean of Westminster, to perform any part of his coronation; yet so (was it a favour or a trial?) that it was left to his free choice to prefer any prebendary of the church to officiate in his place[c]. The bishop met with a dilemma herein. To recommend Dr. Laud, bishop of St. David's, (and prebendary of Westminster,) for that performance was to grace one of his greatest enemies; to pass him by, and

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[c] [Dr. Heylyn observes that "the bishop of Lincoln was not "lord keeper at the coronation. "Secondly, if he had been so, "and that the king was so dis-"tasted with him as not to "suffer him to assist at his co-"ronation, how came he to be "suffered to be present at it in "the capacity of lord keeper? "For that he did so is affirmed "by our author, saying, 'That "the king took a scroll of "parchment out of his bosom "and gave it to the lord keeper "Williams, who read it to the "commons four several times, "east, west, north, and south,' "p. 30. Thirdly, the lord "keeper who read that scroll "was not the lord keeper Wil-"liams, but the lord keeper "Coventry, the seal being taken "from the bishop of Lincoln "and committed to the custody "of sir Thomas Coventry in "October before. And there-"fore, fourthly, our author is "much out in placing both the "coronation and the following "parliament before the change "of the lord keeper; and send-"ing sir John Suckling to fetch "that seal at the end of a par-"liament in the spring, which "he had brought away with "him before Michaelmas term." The Appeal, &c. part iii. p. 3. A MS. letter from Mr. Mead, quoted by sir Henry Ellis in his Orig. Lett. iii. 214, gives the following reasons for Williams' disgrace: "My lord bi-"shop of Lincoln being se-"questered from his office at "the coronation, as he is dean "of Westminster, and the bi-"shop of St. David's being set "up in his room by the great "man, his lordship is going "to retire himself at Bugden. "The occasion of this loss of "his lord keeper's place, was "(besides some things that "passed at the last sitting in "parliament) a plain piece of "counsel his lordship gave my "lord duke at Salisbury, name-"ly, that being as then general "both by sea and land, he "should either go in person, or "stay the fleet at home, or else "give over his office of admi-"ralty to some other."]

prefer a private prebendary for that purpose before a bishop, would seem unhandsome, and be interpreted a neglect of his own order. To avoid all exceptions, he presented a list of all the prebendaries of that church, referring the election to his majesty himself, who made choice of Dr. Laud, bishop of St. David's, for that attendance.

The coronation sermon.

18. Dr. Senhouse, bishop of Carlisle, (chaplain to the king when prince,) preached at the coronation; his text, *And I will give unto thee a crown of life.* In some sort it may be said that he preached his own funeral, dying shortly after; and even then the black jaundice had so possessed him, (a disease which hangs the face with mourning as against its burial,) that all despaired of his recovery. Now seeing this coronation cometh within (if not the pales and park) the purlieus of ecclesiastical history, we will present so much thereof as was acted in the church of Westminster. Let heralds marshal the solemnity of their advance from Westminster hall to this church, where our pen takes the first possession of this subject.

The solemn advance to the church.

19. But first, we will premise the equipage according to which they advanced from Westminster hall to the abbey church, in order as followeth:

1. The aldermen of London, two by two, ushered by an herald.
2. Eighty knights of the bath in their robes, each having an esquire to support, and page to attend him.
3. The king's sergeants at law, solicitor, attorney, masters of request, and judges.
4. Privy counsellors that were knights, and chief officers of the king's household.
5. Barons of the kingdom, all bare headed, in their parliament robes, with swords by their sides.

6. The bishops, with scarlet gowns and lawn sleeves, bare headed.

7. The viscounts and earls (not in their parliament, but) in their coronation robes, with coronetted caps on their heads.

8. The officers of state for the day; whereof these are the principal:

Sir Richard Winn.
Sir George Goring.
The Lord Privy Seal.
The Archbishop of Canterbury.

The earl of Dorset carrying the first sword naked.
The earl of Essex carrying the second sword naked.
The earl of Kent carrying the third sword naked.
The earl of Montgomery carrying the spurs.
The earl of Sussex carrying the globe and cross upon it.
The bishop of London carrying the golden cup for the communion.
The bishop of Winchester carrying the golden plate for the communion.
The earl of Rutland carrying the sceptre.
The marquis Hamilton carrying the sword of state naked.
The earl of Pembroke carrying the crown.

The lord mayor, in a crimson velvet gown, carried a short sceptre before the king amongst the sergeants: but I am not satisfied in the criticalness of his place.

The earl of Arundel, as earl marshal of England, and the duke of Buckingham, as lord high constable of England for that day, went before his majesty in this great solemnity.

The manner of the king's coronation.

20. The king entered at the west gate of the church, under a rich canopy carried by the barons of the cinque ports, his own person being supported by Dr. Neyle, bishop of Durham, on the one hand, and

A.D. 1625. 1 Charles I. Dr. Lake, bishop of Bath and Wells, on the other. His train, being six yards long, of purple velvet, was held up by the lord Compton (as belonging to the robes) and the lord viscount Doncaster. Here he was met by the prebends of Westminster, (bishop Laud supplying the dean his place,) in their rich copes, who delivered into his majesty's hand the staff of king Edward the confessor, with which he walked up to the scaffold.

The fashion of the scaffold. 21. This was made of wood at the upper end of the church, from the choir to the altar. His majesty mounted it, none under the degree of a baron standing thereon, save only the prebends of Westminster, who attended on the altar: three chairs were appointed for him in several places; one of repose, the second the ancient chair of coronation, and the third, (placed on a high square of five stairs ascent,) being the chair of state.

The king presented and accepted by the people. 22. All being settled and reposed, the lord archbishop did present his majesty to the lords and commons, east, west, north, and south, asking their minds, four several times, if they did consent to the coronation of king Charles, their lawful sovereign. The king meantime presented himself bare headed; the consent being given four times with great acclamation, the king took his chair of repose.

Sworn and anointed. 23. After the sermon, (whereof before,) the lord archbishop, invested in a rich cope, tendered to the king (kneeling down on cushions at the communion table) a large oath; then were his majesty's robes taken off him and were offered on the altar. He stood for a while stripped to his doublet and hose, which were of white satin, (with ribbons on the arms and shoulders to open them,) and he appeared a proper person to all that beheld him. Then was he led by the lord archbishop and the bishop of St. David's, and placed in the chair of coronation, (a close canopy being spread over him,) the lord archbishop anointing his head, shoulders, arms, and hands, with a costly ointment, the choir singing an anthem of these words, *Zadoc the priest anointed king Solomon.*

Solemnly crowned,

24. Hence the king was led up in his doublet and hose, with a white coif on his head, to the communion table, where bishop Laud (deputy for the dean of Westminster) brought forth the ancient habiliments of king Edward the Confessor, and put them upon him. Then was his majesty brought back to the chair of coronation, and received the crown of king Edward, (presented by Laud, and) put on his head by the archbishop of Canterbury; the choir singing an anthem, *Thou shalt put a crown of pure gold upon his head.* Whereupon the earls and viscounts put on their crimson velvet caps with coronets about them, (the barons and bishops always standing bare headed.) Then every bishop came severally to his majesty to bring his benediction upon him, and he, in king Edward's robes, with the crown upon his head, rose from his chair and did bow severally to every bishop apart.

and girt with several swords.

25. Then was king Edward's sword girt about him, which he took off again and offered up at the communion table, with two swords more, (surely not in relation to Scotland and Ireland, but to some ancient principalities his predecessors enjoyed in France.) Then the duke of Buckingham (as master of the horse) put on his spurs; and thus completely

crowned his majesty offered first gold, then silver, at the altar, and afterwards bread and wine, which were to be used at the holy communion.

Homage done by the nobility to his majesty,

26. Then was his majesty conducted by the nobility to the throne upon that square basis of five ascents, the choir singing *Te Deum*. Here his majesty took an oath of homage from the duke Buckingham, (as lord high constable for that day,) and the duke did swear all the nobility besides to be homagers to his majesty at his majesty's knees.

with their solemn oath.

27. Then as many earls and barons as could conveniently stand about the throne, did lay their hands on the crown on his majesty's head, protesting to spend their bloods to maintain it to him and his lawful heirs. The bishops severally kneeled down, but took no oath as the barons did, the king kissing every one of them.

A pardon general granted.

28. Then the king took a scroll of parchment out of his bosom, and gave it to the lord keeper Williams, who read it to the commons four several times, east, west, north, and south. The effect whereof was, that his majesty did offer a pardon to all his subjects who would take it under his broad seal.

The communion concludes the solemnity.

29. From the throne his majesty was conducted to the communion table, where the lord archbishop kneeling on the north side, read prayers in the choir and sung the Nicene Creed. The bishop of Llandaff and Norwich read the epistle and gospel, with whom the bishops of Durham and St. David's, in rich copes, kneeled with his majesty and received the communion; the bread from the archbishop, the wine from the bishop of St. David's, his majesty receiving last

of all, whilst *Gloria in excelsis* was sung by the choir, and some prayers read by the archbishop concluded the solemnity.

30. The king, after he had disrobed himself in king Edward's chapel, came forth in a short robe of red velvet girt unto him, lined with ermines, and a crown of his own on his head set with very precious stones, and thus the train going to the barges on the water side, returned to Whitehall in the same order wherein they came, about three o'clock in the afternoon.

The return to Whitehall.

31. I have insisted the longer on this subject moved thereunto by this consideration, that if it be the last solemnity performed on an English king in this kind, posterity will conceive my pains well bestowed, because on the last. But if hereafter divine providence shall assign England another king, though the transactions herein be not wholly precedential, something of state may be chosen out grateful for imitation.

Our prolixity herein excused.

32. And here if a blister was not, it deserved to be, on the fingers of that scandalous pamphleteer, who hath written that king Charles was not crowned like other kings; whereas all essentials of his coronation were performed with as much ceremony as ever before, and all robes of state used according to ancient prescription: but if he indulged his own fancy for the colour of his clothes, a white suit, &c. persons meaner than princes have in greater matters assumed as much liberty to themselves.

A foul mouth railer.

33. Indeed, one solemnity (no part of, but preface to, the coronation) was declined on good consideration. For whereas the kings of England used to ride from the tower, through the city, to Westminster;

Why the king rode not through the city.

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king Charles went thither by water, out of double providence, to save health and wealth thereby. For though the infectious air in the city of London had lately been corrected with a sharp winter, yet was it not so amended but that a just suspicion of danger did remain. Besides, such a procession would have cost him threescore thousand pounds, to be disbursed on scarlet for his train; a sum which if then demanded of his exchequer would scarce receive a satisfactory answer thereunto; and surely some who since condemn him for want of state in omitting this royal pageant, would have condemned him more for prodigality, had he made use thereof.

A memorable alteration in a pageant.

34. As for any other alterations in prayers or ceremonies, though heavily charged on bishop Laud, are since conceived by unpartial people done by a committee, wherein (though the bishop accused as most active) others did equally consent[d]. Indeed, a passage not in fashion since the reign of king Henry the Sixth, was used in a prayer at this time. *Obtineat gratiam huic populo sicut Aaron in tabernaculo, Elizeus in fluvio, Zacharias in templo, sit Petrus in clave, Paulus in dogmate.* "Let him obtain favour "for his people like Aaron in the tabernacle, Elisha "in the waters, Zacharias in the temple; give him "Peter's key of discipline, Paul's doctrine." This I may call a Protestant passage, though anciently used in popish times, as fixing more spiritual power in the king than the pope will willingly allow, jealous that any should finger Peter's keys save himself.

A conference at York house.

35. A few days after a parliament began, wherein Mr. Mountague was much troubled about his book,

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[d] [Upon this point see a full and complete justification of the archbishop, in the History of his Troubles, p. 318, sq.]

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but made a shift by his powerful friends to save himself. During the sitting whereof, at the instance and procurement of Robert Rich, earl of Warwick, a conference was kept in York house, before the duke of Buckingham and other lords, betwixt Dr. Buckeridge, bishop of Rochester, and Dr. White, dean of Carlisle, on the one side, and Dr Morton, bishop of Coventry, and Dr. Preston on the other, about Arminian points, and chiefly the possibility of one elected to fall from grace[e]. The passages of

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[e] [Not upon Arminian points, although our author is pleased to call them such. The conference respected points of doctrine and discipline, where, in support of his views, Mountague appealed to the writings of the primitive church. Indeed he earnestly disclaimed the tenets of Arminius, or any other private teacher, as may be seen in the following passage: "I am "not, nor would be accounted "willingly, Arminian, Calvinist, or Lutheran, (names of division,) but a Christian. For "my faith was never taught by "the doctrine of men. I was "not baptized into the belief, "or assumed by grace into the "family of any of these, or of "the pope. I will not pin my "belief unto any man's sleeve, "carry he his head never so high; "not unto S. Augustin, or any "ancient father, *nedum* unto "men of lower rank. A Christian I am and so glory to be; "only denominated of Christ "Jesus my lord and master, by "whom I never was as yet so "wronged that I would relinquish willingly that royal "title, and exchange it for any "of his menial servants. And "further yet I do profess that "I see no reason why any "member of the Church of "England, a church every way "so transcendant unto that of "Leyden and Geneva, should "bend so low as to denominate himself of any the most "eminent among them.

—— "For Arminianism I "must and do protest before "God and his angels, *idque in* "*verbo sacerdotis*, the time is "yet to come that I ever read "word in Arminius. The course "of my studies was never addressed to modern epitomizers; but from my first entrance to the study of divinity, I balked the ordinary "and accustomed bye-paths of "Bastingius' Catechism, Fenner's Divinity, Buchanan's "Common-places, Trelcasius, "Polanus, and such like; and "betook myself to scripture, "the rule of faith, interpreted "by antiquity, the best expositor of faith and applier of "that rule: holding it a point "of discretion to draw water,

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which conference are variously reported. For it is not in tongue combats, as in other battles, where the victory cannot be disguised, as discovering itself in keeping the field, number of the slain, captives, and colours taken. Whilst here, no such visible effects appearing, the persons present were left to their liberty to judge of the conquest as each one stood affected. However William, earl of Pembroke, was heard to say, "that none returned Arminians "thence, save such who repaired thither with the "same opinions."

A second on the same subjects.

36. Soon after, a second conference was entertained in the same place, on the same points, before the same persons; betwixt Dr. White, dean of Carlisle, and Mr. Mountague on the one side, and Dr. Morton, bishop of Lichfield, and Dr. Preston on the other. Dr. Preston carried it clear at the first by dividing his adversaries; who quickly perceiving their error, pieced themselves together in a joint opposition against him. The passages also of this conference are as differently related as the former. Some making it [f] a clear conquest on one, some on the other side, and a third sort a drawn battle betwixt both. Thus the success of these meetings answered neither the commendable intentions, nor hopeful expectations, of such who procured them. Now whilst other dare say universally of such conferences, what David saith of mankind, that of them, [g] *there*

"as near as I could, to the "well-head, and to spare labor "in vain in running further off "to cisterns and lakes. I went "to inquire when doubt was *of* "*the days of old*, as God him- "self directed me, and hither- "to I have not repented me of "it." Appello, p. 10, sq.]

[f] Thus the writer of Dr. Preston's Life concludes the conquest on his side.

[g] Psalm xlv. 3.

is none that doeth good; no, not one: we dare only intimate, that (what statesmen observe of interviews betwixt princes; so) these conferences betwixt divines rather increase the differences than abate them[h].

The bishop of Lincoln loseth his keeper's place.

37. The bishop of Lincoln fell now, through the duke's, into the king's, displeasure; and such who will read the late letters in the Cabala may conjecture the cause thereof, but the certainty we leave to be reported by the historians of the state; belonging in his episcopal capacity to my pen, but as lord keeper properly to theirs.

The duke incensed against him.

38. The bishop, finding his own tottering condition, addressed himself to all who had intimacy with the duke, to reingratiate himself. But such after-games at court seldom succeed; all would not do: for as *amicus omnium optimus* was part of the duke's epitaph[i], so no fiercer foe when displeased; and nothing under the bishop's removal from his office would give him satisfaction.

The bishop's wariness in resigning the seal.

39. Sir John Suckling was sent unto him from the king to demand the broad seal of him, which the cautious bishop refused to surrender into his hands, to prevent such uses as might be made thereof (by him or others) in the interval betwixt this

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[h] [Of these conferences, which made great noise at the time, and certainly caused a great change in the sentiments of bishop Morton, some account will be found in Ball's Life of Preston, p. 101, sq. But the writer of that life has either so entirely misunderstood or misrepresented the arguments, as to make the defenders of the sentiments he disliked talk arrant nonsense, and support their tenets in a way utterly at variance with their printed works. An account of the second conference is printed in the appendix to Cosins' History of Transubstantiation, found among some MS. papers in the Bodleian; and probably written by Cosins.]

[i] On his tomb in Westminster chapel.

resigning it, and the king's conferring it on another; but he charily locked it up in a box, and sent the box by the knight, and key thereof inclosed in a letter to his majesty.

But keeps his bishopric.

40. However, his bruise was the less, because he fell but from the first loft and saved himself on the second floor. Outed his lord-keepership, but keeping his bishopric of Lincoln and deanery of Westminster, though forced to part with the king's purse, he held his own, and that well replenished. And now he is retired to Bugden-great, where, whether greater his anger at his enemies for what he had lost, or gratitude to God for what he had left, though others may conjecture, his own conscience only could decide. Here we leave him at his hospitable table, where sometimes he talked so loud, that his discourse at the second hand was heard to London, by those who bare no good-will unto him.

A new college of an old hall in Oxford.

41. An old hall turned into a new college was this year finished at Oxford. This formerly was called Broadgate's Hall, and had many students therein, [k]amongst whom, Edmund Bonner, afterwards bishop of London, (scholar enough and tyrant too much,) had his education[l]. But this place was not endowed with any revenues till about this time; for Thomas Tesdale, of Glympton, in the county of Oxford, esquire, bequeathed five thousand pounds, wherewith lands were purchased to the value of two hundred and fifty pounds per annum, for the maintenance of seven fellows and six scholars. Afterwards Richard Whitwick, bachelor of divinity, rector of East Ilsley in Berkshire, gave lands to the yearly

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[k] [So well frequented and known as to become a proverb.]

[l] [In 1524.]

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value of one hundred pounds, for the maintenance of three fellows and four scholars; whereupon, petition being made to king James, this new college was erected, and a charter of mortmain of seven hundred pounds per annum granted thereunto.

Called Pembroke College.

42. It was called Pembroke College, partly in respect to William, earl of Pembroke, then chancellor of the university, partly in expectation to receive some favour from him. And probably had not that noble lord died suddenly soon after, this college might have received more than a bare name from him. The best, where a child hath rich parents it needeth the less any gifts from the godfather.

Masters.	*Benefactors.*	*Bishops.*	*Learned Writers.*
1. [1624] Dr. [Thomas] Clayton, M.D. 2. [1647. Henry Wightwick, ejected by Parliament; restored in 1660; and ejected by the chancellor a second time, 1664.] 3. [1647] Dr. [Henry] Langley.	King Charles, who gave the patronage of St. Aldate's, the church adjoining.		Sir Thomas Browne, Physician.

So that this college consisteth of a master, ten fellows, and ten scholars, with other students and officers to the number of one hundred sixty-nine.

43. "The doctor and the duke were both of them unwilling to an open breach, loved for to temporise and wait upon events[m]". Surely temporise here is taken in the apostolic sense, according to some copies, "serving the times[n]". And henceforward the

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[m] Dr. Preston's Life, p. 505.

[n] Rom. xii. 11. τῷ καιρῷ δουλεύοντες. Ambrosius.

duke resolved to shake off the doctor, who would not stick close unto him, betaking himself to the opposite interest. Nor was the other surprised herein, as expecting the alteration long before.

Dr. Preston declines in the duke's favour. 44. By the late conferences at York house it appeared, that by the duke's cold carriage towards him, (and smiling on his opponents,) Dr. Preston was now entering into the autumn of the duke's favour. Indeed, they were well met, each observing, neither trusting other, (as I read in the doctor's life, written by his judicious pupil.)

The death of godly bishop Lake. 45. This year concluded the life of Arthur Lake, warden of New College in Oxford, master of St. Cross's, dean of Worcester, and at last promoted bishop of Bath and Wells, not so much by the power of his brother, sir Thomas, (secretary to king James,) as his own desert; as one whose piety may be justly exemplary to all of his order. He seldom (if at all) is said to have dreamt, justly imputed, not to the dulness of his fancy, in which faculty he had no defect, but to the staidness of his judgment, wherein he did much excel, as by his learned sermons doth appear[o].

The death and character of bishop Andrews. 46. About the same time Lancelot Andrews ended his religious life[p]; born at Allhallows-Barking in London; scholar, fellow, and master of Pembroke Hall in Cambridge[q]. Then dean of Westminster,

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[o] [He died May 4. See Wood's Athen. vol. i. p. 505.]

[p] [See Buckeridge's Sermon upon bishop Andrews' death, Nov. 11, 1626.]

[q] [Perhaps there never existed a prelate so universally beloved as Andrews. Although a zealous and earnest admirer of the primitive church, and one of the most learned men of his days, he bore his faculties so meekly, his humility was so unaffected, his piety so real and sincere, that all parties have joined in commending him. "This is that "Andrews," says Hacket, who

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bishop of Chichester, Ely, and at last of Winchester[r]. The world wanted learning to know how learned this man was, so skilled in all (especially oriental) languages, that some conceive he might (if then living) almost have served as an interpreter general at the confusion of tongues. Nor are the fathers more faithfully cited in his books, than lively copied out in his countenance and carriage; his gravity in a manner awing king James, who refrained from that mirth and liberty, in the presence of this prelate, which otherwise he assumed to himself. He lieth buried in the chapel of St. Mary Overe's, having on his monument a large, elegant, and true epitaph[s].

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had personally known him, "the ointment of whose name "is sweeter than all spices. "This is that celebrated bishop "of Winton, whose learning "king James admired above all "his chaplains. Indeed, he "was the most apostolical and "primitive-like divine, in my "opinion, that wore a rochet "in his age; of a most venerable gravity, and yet most "sweet in all commerce; the "most devout that ever I saw "when he appeared before God; "of such a growth in all kind "of learning, that very able "clerks were of a low stature "to him; *colossus inter icunculas;* full of alms and charity, of which none knew but "his Father in secret; a certain "patron to scholars of fame "and ability, and chiefly to "those that never expected it. "I am transported even as in "a rapture to make this digression; for who could come "near the shrine of such a "saint and not offer up a few "grains of glory upon it!" Life of Williams, p. 45.]

[r] [Wood dates his death upon Sept. 26, 1626, wherein he is followed by a MS. in the Heralds' College, and by Parker in his Scel. Cant. (see Wood's Fast. vol. i. p. 219, and the notes.) But Godwin de Præsul. p. 245, and Heylyn in his Life of Laud, p. 165, date it on the 21st. In this they are supported by the following entry in Laud's Diary, p. 36, which is decisive of the question: "Sep. 21. die Lunæ, "hora matutina fere quarta "Lancelotus Andrews, episcopus Winton. meritissimus, "lumen orbis Christiani, mortuus est." He died at the age of 71. His Life, written by Isaacson, may be seen in Fuller's Abel Redivivus, and has also been printed separately.]

[s] Stow's Survey of London, [vol. ii. p. 14 and 16.]

Unjustly accused for covetousness,

47. Since his death some have unjustly snarled at his memory, accusing him for covetousness, who was neither *rapax*, to get by unjust courses, (as a professed enemy to usury, simony, and bribery,) nor *tenax*, to hold money when just occasion called for it; for in his lifetime he repaired all places he lived in, and at his death left the main of his estate to pious uses. Indeed he was wont to say, "that "good husbandry was good divinity[t]," the truth whereof no wise man will deny.

and superstition.

48. Another falls foully upon him for the ornaments of his chapel, as popish and superstitious, in the [u]superabundant ceremonies thereof, to which I can say little; but this I dare affirm, that wheresoever he was a parson, a dean, or a bishop, he never troubled parish, college, or diocess, with pressing other ceremonies upon them than such which he found used there before his coming thither. And it had not been amiss if such, who would be accounted his friends and admirers, had followed him in the footsteps of his moderation, content with the enjoying, without the enjoining, their private practices and opinions on others[x].

Causelessly charged with affectation in his sermons.

49. As for such who causelessly have charged his sermons as affected, and [y]surcharged with verbal allusions, when they themselves have set forth the

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[t] [See his sermon on Mary's anointing our Lord's feet, p. 287. Buckeridge's sermon sufficiently disproves this slander.]

[u] Prynne, in Canterbury's Doom, p. 121, sq.

[x] [He means archbishop Laud, who was exceedingly devoted to Andrews; publishing his sermons and writing the preface prefixed to them. The ceremonies used in dedicating Catharine Cree Church, for which the archbishop was vehemently taxed, (see Rushworth, vol. i. p. 77,) were derived from Andrews. See Heylyn's Life of Laud, p. 49.]

[y] Bayley in his Laudensium Autocatacrisis, [p. 89.]

like, it will then be time enough to make this bishop's first defence against their calumniations. Nor is it a wonder that the master's pen was so in his writings, whose very servant (a layman) was so successful in the same; I mean Mr. Henry Isaacson, (lately gone to God,) the industrious author of the useful Chronology[z].

Nicholas Fuller his chaplain, that profitable critic.

50. It is pity to part this patron from his chaplain, Nicholas Fuller, born, as I take it, in Hampshire, bred in Oxford, where he was tutor to sir Henry Wallop, who afterwards preferred him to the small parsonage of Allington in Wiltshire; and Robert Abbot, bishop of Salisbury, made him canon of that church. Afterwards a living of great value was sent by bishop Andrews (the patron[a] thereof) on the welcome errand to find out Mr. Fuller to accept the same, who was hardly contented to be surprised with a presentation thereunto; such his love to his former small living and retired life[b]. He was the prince of all our English critics; and whereas men of that tribe are generally morose,

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[z] [Author of the Life of bishop Andrews, generally prefixed to his Works.]

[a] See bishop Andrews his funeral sermon, [by bishop Buckeridge, at the end of his Works.]

[b] [Aubrey tells the following anecdote, which he received from good authority, respecting Nicholas Fuller's presentation. Speaking of Andrews' industry in searching out and promoting poor and deserving clergymen, he observes; "The "bishop made it his inquiry to "search out such men. A"mongst several others, (whose "names have escaped my me"mory,) Nicholas Fuller, min"ister of Allington, near Ames"bury, in Wilts, was one. The "bishop sent for him, and the "poor man was afraid, and "knew not what hurt he had "done. He makes him sit "down to dinner: and, after "the dessert, was brought in, in "a dish, his institution and in"duction, or the donation of a "prebend, which was his way." Letters from the Bodleian, vol. ii. p. 206.]

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so that they cannot dissent from another without disdaining, nor oppose without inveighing against him, it is hard to say whether more candour, learning, or judgment, was blended in his miscellanies. By discovering how much Hebrew there is in the New Testament Greek, he cleareth many real difficulties from his verbal observations[c].

Severe proceedings against archbishop Abbot. Suspended from his jurisdiction.

51. A commission was granted unto five bishops (whereof bishop Laud of the quorum) to suspend archbishop Abbot from exercising his authority any longer, because uncanonical for casual homicide; the proceeding against him being generally condemned as over rigid and severe[d].

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[c] [See a very just commendation of Nicholas Fuller in Wood's Athen. vol. i. p. 474.]

[d] [The observations on this passage in "The Appeal, &c." part iii. p. 10, deserve serious attention. Dr. Heylyn says, "Had our author said that "bishop Laud had been one of "the number, he had hit it "right; the commission being "granted to five bishops, viz. "Dr. Mountain, bishop of Lon"don; Dr. Neil, bishop of "Durham; Dr. Buckeridge, "bishop of Rochester; Dr. "Howson, bishop of Oxford; "and Dr. Laud bishop of Bath "and Wells; and to any four, "three, or two of them, and "no more than so. Had bi"shop Laud been of the quo"rum, his presence and con"sent had been so necessary "to all their consultations, "conclusions, and despatch of "businesses, that nothing could "be done without him," &c.

To this Fuller replies: "Be "it remembered that here I "use the word *quorum* not in "the legal strictness thereof, "but in that passable sense in "common discourse; viz. for "one so active in a business, "that nothing is, though it "may be, done without him "therein.

"When the writing for arch"bishop Abbot's suspension "was to be subscribed by the "bishops aforesaid, the four "seniors, viz. London, Dur"ham, Rochester, and Oxford, "all declined to set their hands "thereunto, and, seemingly at "the least, shewed much re"luctance and regret thereat. "Then give me the pen, said "bishop Laud, and though *last* "in place *first* subscribed his "name. Encouraged by whose "words and example, the rest, "after some demur, did the "like. This was attested to "me by him who had best "cause to know it, the good "and credible register, still

i. The act was committed seven years since, in the reign of king James.

ii. On a commission then appointed for that purpose, he was cleared from all irregularity, by bishop Andrews, in divinity; sir Edward Coke in common, and sir Henry Martin in canon law.

iii. It would be of dangerous consequence to condemn him by the canons of foreign councils, which never were allowed any legislative power in this land.

iv. The archbishop had manifested much remorse and self-affliction for this (rather sad than sinful) act.

v. God may be presumed to have forgotten so much as there was of fault in the fact, and why then should man remember it?

vi. Ever since he had executed his jurisdiction without any interruption[e].

vii. The archbishop had both feet in the grave, and all his whole body likely soon after to follow them.

viii. Such heightening of casual homicide did savour of intentional malice.

"alive, who attended in the "place upon them. This I "formerly knew, but concealed it; and had not published "it now, if not necessitated "thereunto in my just de-"fence."]

[e] [" I must needs add, that "he is very much mistaken in "this particular. Dr. Williams, "lord elect of Lincoln; Dr. "Carew, lord elect of Exeter; "and Dr. Laud, lord elect of "St. David's, and I think some "others, refusing to receive "episcopal consecration from "him on that account." Dr. Heylyn, in "The Appeal," &c. p. 12, pt. iii. Fuller replies, " I beheld this as no "effectual interrupting of his "jurisdiction, because other "bishops, more in number, no "whit their inferiors, received "consecration, Dr. Davenant, "Dr. Hall, and king Charles "himself his coronation from "him." Ibid.]

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The truth is, the archbishop's own stiffness and averseness to comply with the court designs, advantaged his adversaries against him, and made him the more obnoxious to the king's displeasure. But the blame did most light on bishop Laud, men accounting this a kind of *filius ante diem, &c.* as if not content to succeed, he endeavoured to supplant him; who might well have suffered his decayed old age to have died in honour. What needs the felling of the tree a falling [f]?

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[f] [On this Dr. Heylyn remarks, "No such matter neither; for though for a while he stood confined to his house at Ford, yet neither this confinement, nor that commission, were of long continuance; for about Christmas, in the year 1628, he was restored both to his liberty and jurisdiction, sent for to come unto the court, received as he came out of his barge by the archbishop of York and the earl of Dorset, and by them conducted to the king, who, giving him his hand to kiss, enjoined him not to fail the council-table twice a week. After which time we find him sitting as archbishop in parliament, and in the full exercise of his jurisdiction till the day of his death, which happened on Sunday, August 4th, 1633." Fuller replies, "But from this his suspension——he was in his own thoughts buried, it reviving his obnoxiousness for his former casual homicide; so that never he was seen heartily, if at all, to laugh hereafter, though, I deny not, much court favour was afterwards on design conferred on him. Here I hope it will be no offence to insert this innocent story, partly to shew how quickly tender guiltiness is dejected, partly to make folk cautious how they cast out galling speeches in this kind. This archbishop returning to Croydon after his late absence thence a long time, many people, most women, whereof some of good quality for good will, for novelty and curiosity, crowded about his coach. The archbishop, being unwilling to be gazed at, and never fond of females, said, somewhat churlishly, 'What make these women here?' 'You had best,' said one of them, 'to shoot an arrow at us.' I need not tell the reader how near this second arrow went to his heart." There is a very pleasing anecdote respecting Abbot related in an unpublished letter of J. Pory to sir Thomas Pickering, (dated Sept. 20, 1632.) "One day the last week my lord of Arun-

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Two good effects of
bad cause

52. However, a double good accrued hereby to the archbishop. First, he became the more beloved of men; (the country hath constantly a blessing for those, for whom the court hath a curse.) And secondly, he may charitably be presumed to love God the more, whose service he did the better attend, being freed from the drudgery of the world, as that soul which hath the least of Martha hath the most of Mary therein.

The chara ter of arc bishop At bot.

53. And although this archbishop survived some years after, yet it will be seasonable here for us to take a fair farewell of his memory, seeing henceforward he was buried to the world. He was bred in Oxford, master of University College; an excellent preacher, as appears by his Lectures on Jonah; chaplain to the earl of Dunbar, (with whom he was once solemnly sent by king James into Scotland to

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" del and his son, my lord Maltravers, having espied my " lord of Canterbury's coach on " Barnsted Down coming towards their's, before they " came a butt's length short of " it both their lordships alighted and went a great pace towards his grace's coach, who, " when they were approached, " said, 'What! and must my " lord marshal of England take " so great pains to do me so " much honour? were my legs " as good as my heart, I should " have met your lordships the " better half of the way.' Then " my lord of Arundel replied, " 'It might well become an " earl marshal to give so much " respect to an archbishop of " Canterbury, besides the particular obligation from his " lordship to his grace for his " noble usage of his son and " daughter, Maltravers, while " they were his prisoners.' " Whereupon my lord's grace " took occasion to congratulate " unto both their lordships, my " lord Maltravers his brave and " hopeful progeny of three sons " and a daughter: and so they " parted. His grace by his " diet hath so moderated his " gout, as it is now rather an " infirmity than a pain. He " looks fresh, and enjoys his " health, and hath his wits and " intellectuals about him. So " that if any other prelate do " gape after his benefice, his " grace perhaps (according to " that old and homely proverb) " [may] eat of the goose which " shall graze upon his grave." Harl. MSS. 7000. fol. 181.]

A. D. 1626. 2 Charles I. preach there,) and afterwards by his means promoted to the archbishopric of Canterbury, haply according to his own, but sure I am above, if not against, the expectations of others; a grave man in his conversation, and unblamable in his life[g].

Accounted no great friend to the clergy.

54. Indeed it is charged on him that *non amavit gentem nostram*, "he loved not our nation," forsaking the birds of his own feather to fly with others, and generally favouring the laity above the clergy in all cases brought before him. But this he endeavoured to excuse to a private friend, by protesting he was himself so severe to the clergy on purpose to rescue them from the severity of others, and to prevent the punishment of them from lay judges to their greater shame.

Accused for the fautor of malecontents.

55. I also read in a nameless author[h], that towards his death he was not only discontented himself, but his house was the rendezvous of all malecontents in church and state; making midnight of noonday by constant keeping of candles' light in his chamber and study; as also such visitants as repaired unto

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[g] [It was generally expected as it was hoped by the clergy that Andrews should have succeeded Bancroft in the see of Canterbury, a prelate incomparably better suited to such a preferment than Abbot. Though a good man, Abbot had never held any preferment in the church, and "was of a "morose and retiring temper, "and wholly devoted to the "Calvinistic party." But the interest of the earl of Dunbar with the king procured Abbot this promotion,—the king openly professing that it was the earl's recommendation which moved him to prefer that prelate "before the rest of his "fellows." See Birch's View of the Negotiations, &c. p. 338. The archbishop's character is drawn by lord Clarendon, with his usual felicity in his History of the Rebellion, vol. i. p. 156.]

[h] In answer to Weldon's pamphlet intituled, The Court and Character of King James, p. 132. [This answer is generally attributed to William Saunderson, author of a History of the Reign of James I. and Charles I.]

him called themselves Nicodemites because of their secret addresses[i]. But a credible person[k], and one of his nearest relations, knew nothing thereof, which with me much shaketh the probability of the report. And thus we leave this archbishop, and the rest of his praises, to be reported by the poor people of Guildford in Surrey, where he founded and endowed a fair almshouse in the town of his nativity.

A toleration blasted in Ireland.

56. The king's treasury now began to grow low, and his expenses to mount high. No wonder then if the statesmen were much troubled to make up the distance betwixt his exchequer and his occasions. Amongst other designs, the papists in Ireland, (taking advantage of the king's wants,) proffered to pay constantly five thousand men if they might but enjoy a toleration. But that motion was crushed by the bishops opposing it, and chiefly by bishop Downham's sermon in Dublin, on this text, Luke i. 74, *That we, being delivered from the hands of our enemies, might serve him without fear*[l].

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[i] [And so it is stated by the noble historian. Indeed, the archbishop was not much beloved by the clergy, with whom he appears to have had but little community of feeling. For he was in truth, as the same historian describes him, "totally "ignorant of the true constitution of the Church of England, and the state and interest of the clergy; as sufficiently appeared throughout "the whole course of his life "afterward." Rebel. vol. i. p. 156. John Featley also, in his Life of Dr. Featley, gives a very striking instance of the moroseness and uncharitableness of the Archbishop, whose anecdote is more likely to be correct, as Featley entertained the same sentiments as Abbot. To this may be added the unquestionable authority of Hacket, who, speaking of the archbishop's rigorous conduct in the high commission court, observes, that "sentences of "great correction, or rather of "destruction, have their epocha "from his predominancy in "that court." Life of Williams, p. 97.]

[k] Dr. Barnard his household chaplain.

[l] [This protest of the Irish bishops against any toleration to

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Hopes to spring in England,

57. Many a man sunk in his estate in England hath happily recovered it by removing into Ireland; whereas, by a contrary motion, this project, bankrupt in Ireland, presumed to make itself up in England: where the papists promised to maintain a proportion of ships on the aforesaid condition, of free exercise of their religion. Some were desirous the king should accept their tender, who might lawfully take what they were so forward to give, seeing no injury is done to them who are willing.

But is rejected.

58. It was urged on the other side, that where such willingness to be injured proceeds from the principle of an erroneous conscience, there their simplicity ought to be informed, not abused. Grant papists so weak as to buy, protestants should be more honest than to sell such base wares unto them. Such ships must needs spring many leaks, rigged, victualled and manned with ill-gotten money gained

the Roman Catholics is printed in Parr's Life of Usher, p. 28. They state that the religion of the papists is superstitious and idolatrous, their faith and doctrine erroneous and heretical, their church, in respect of both, apostolical, and consequently that to grant them toleration is a grievous sin; 1. In making ourselves thereby accessory to their superstition and idolatry, as also to the perdition of the people that perish by their seductions; 2. That to grant them toleration in respect of any money to be given, is to set religion to sale, and with it the souls of the people. This protestation Dr. Downham, bishop of Derry, published at Christ-Church at the next meeting of the assembly, April 23, 1627, before the lord deputy and council in the midst of his sermon, in which he spoke much against subordinating religion, and setting souls to sale for the gain of earthly matters. The next Sunday, primate Usher preached before the same auditory on the words, *Love not the world, nor the things that are in the world*, 1 John v. 15. making a similar application, and rebuking those who, like Judas, would sell Christ for thirty pieces of silver. These proceedings of the bishops prevailed so far that the proposal for a toleration did not succeed, at least for the present. See Parr, ibid. See also Usher's Letters, p. 376.]

by the sale of souls. Add here all the objections were revived which in the reign of king James were improved against such a toleration.

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Sir John Savile his motion.

59. Here sir John Savile interposed, that if the king were pleased but to call on the recusants to pay thirds, (legally due to the crown,) it would prove a way more effectual and less offensive to raise a mass of money; it being but just, who were so rich and free to purchase new privileges, should first pay their old penalties. This motion was listened unto, and sir John, with some others, appointed for that purpose in the counties beyond Trent, scarce a third of England in ground, but almost the half thereof for the growth of recusants therein; but whether the returns seasonably furnished the king's occasions is to me unknown.

A parliament called, which proves full of troubles.

60. It is suspicious that all such projects to quench the thirst of the king's necessities proved no better than sucking bottles, soon emptied, and but cold the liquor they afforded. Nothing so natural as the milk of the breast, I mean subsidies granted by parliament, which the king at this time assembled. But alas, to follow the metaphor, both the breasts, the two houses, were so sore with several grievances, that all money came from them with much pain and difficulty; the rather, because they complained of doctrines destructive to their propriety lately preached at court.

Mr. Pym's speech against Dr. Mainwaring.

61. For towards the end of this session of parliament, Dr. Mainwaring was severely censured for two sermons he had preached and printed about the power of the king's prerogative. Such is the precipice of this matter, (wherein each casual slip of my pen may prove a deadly fall,) that I had rather

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the reader should take all from Mr. Pym's mouth than from my hand, who thus uttered himself[m]:

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[m] [This speech and the proceedings against Dr. Mainwaring have been published at full length by Rushworth, in his Collections, vol. i. p. 601. As to justice in these proceedings there was none; and while the commons thus punished severely the indiscretion of one sermon, where the author had pushed his principles, good in themselves, to indiscreet lengths, they let pass without censure hundreds of sermons in which seditious principles and far worse divinity were inculcated; thus verifying lord Clarendon's observation of the sickly humour of the times, that men were "more troubled at that *they* called the violation of one law, than delighted or pleased with the observation of all the rest of the charter."

But the reasons which drove on both houses to this censure have been more accurately detailed by bishop Hacket in his Life of Archbishop Williams: "When the commons," he says, "fell roundly to sift the exacting of the loan, the ill will gotten by it touched none so near as the clergy; so ill was it taken that their pulpits had advanced it, and that some had preached a great deal of crown-divinity, as they called it. And they were not long to seek for one that should be made an example for it. But to make that which was like to be by consequent less offensive, they unanimously voted a gift of five subsidies, before the king's servants had spoken a word unto it.—Straightway they called Dr. Mainwaring, the king's chaplain, before them, for preaching, but rather for printing, two sermons delivered before the king, the one at Oatlands, the other at Alderton, in the progress in July; neither of them at St. Giles' in the Fields, as Mr. W. S[anderson] might have found in the title-page of them both. These being in print no witnesses needed to be deposed, the doctrine was above the deck sufficiently discovered. The sermons, both preached upon one text, Eccl. viii. 2, are confessedly learned, *ψεύδεα πολλὰ λέγων ἐτυμοῖσιν ὅμοια*, (Odys. xxiii.) wherein art and wit have gone about to make true principles beget false conclusions It was not well done to hazard the dangerous doctrine in them, for the learning sake, to the view of the world; for not the seeds of a good melon, but the good seeds of a melon should be preserved to be planted. No notice was taken of the king's special command to publish these tractates, but severing the author by himself he is designed to be censured, as keepers beat whelps before their lions to make them gentler." Part ii. p. 74. Williams publicly reprehended the

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"Master Speaker[n], I am to deliver from the sub-"committee a charge against Mr. Mainwaring, a "preacher, and doctor of divinity, but a man so cri-"minous that he hath turned his titles into accu-"sations; for the better they are the worse is he that "hath dishonoured them. Here is a great charge "that lies upon him; it is great in itself, and great "because it hath many great charges in it; *serpens, "qui serpentem devorat fit draco;* his charge, having "digested many charges into it, is become a monster "of charges. The main and great one is this: a "plot and policy to alter and subvert the frame and "fabric of this state and commonwealth. This is "the great one, and it hath others in it that gains "it more greatness; for to this end he labours to "infuse into the conscience of his majesty the per-"suasion of a power not bounding itself with laws, "which king James of famous memory calls, in his "speech in parliament, 1619, tyranny, yea, tyranny "accompanied with perjury.

"Secondly, He endeavours to persuade the con-"sciences of the subjects, that they are bound to "obey illegal commands; yea, he damns them for "not obeying them.

"Thirdly, He robs the subjects of the propriety "of their goods.

"Fourthly, He brands them that will not lose "this propriety with most scandalous and odious

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sermons in the upper house, but none of the bishops thought fit to defend them.

However, let Dr. Mainwaring's faults have been what they might theoretically, in practice he was a truly excellent and pious man. Some very pleasing anecdotes are related of him in Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 270. See also as account of him in Wood's Athen. ii. p. 1141.]

[n] Transcribed out of his manuscript speech. But by Rushworth, (Coll. i. p. 593,) attributed to Rous.]

"titles to make them hateful both to prince and "people, so to set a division between the head and "members, and between the members themselves.

"Fifthly, To the same end (not much unlike "to Faux and his fellows) he seeks to blow up parliaments and parliamentary power. These five "being duly viewed, will appear to be so many "charges, and withal they make up the main and "great charge, A mischievous plot to alter and subvert the frame and government of this state and "commonwealth. And now that you may be sure "that Mr. Mainwaring, though he leave us no propriety in our goods, yet he hath an absolute propriety in his charge, *audite ipsam belluam*, hear "Mr. Mainwaring by his own words making up his "own charge."

Here he produced the book, particularly insisting on pag. 19, 29, and 30, in the first sermon, pag. 35, 46, and 48, in the second sermon. All which passages he heightened with much eloquence and acrimony; thus concluding his speech, "I have shewed "you *an evil tree that bringeth forth evil fruit*, and "now it rests with you to determine whether the "following sentence shall follow, *Cut it down and* "*cast it into the fire.*"

The severe censure on the doctor.

62. Four days after the parliament proceeded to his censure, consisting of eight particulars, it being ordered by the house of lords against him, as followeth:

i. To be imprisoned during the pleasure of the house.

ii. To be fined a thousand pounds.

iii. To make his submission at the bar in this house, and in the house of commons, at the bar there, *in verbis conceptis* by a committee of this house.

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iv. To be suspended from his ministerial function three years, and in the mean time a sufficient preaching man to be provided out of the profits of his living, and this to be left to be performed by the ecclesiastical court.

v. To be disabled for ever hereafter from preaching at court.

vi. To be for ever disabled of having any ecclesiastical dignity in the Church of England.

vii. To be uncapable of any secular office or preferment.

viii. That his books are worthy to be burned, and his majesty to be moved that it may be so in London, and both the universities.

But much of this censure was remitted, in consideration of the performance of his humble submission at both the bars in parliament:

His humble submission.

63. Where he appeared on the three and twentieth of June following, and on his knees, before both houses, submitted himself as followeth, with outward expression of sorrow:

"I do here, in all sorrow of heart and true re-"pentance, acknowledge those many errors and in-"discretions which I have committed in preaching "and publishing the two sermons of mine, which "I called Religion and Allegiance, and my great "fault in falling upon this theme again, and hand-"ling the same rashly, scandalously, and unad-"visedly in my own parish church in St. Giles' in "the fields, the fourth of May last past. I do hum-"bly acknowledge those three sermons to have been "full of dangerous passages, inferences, and scan-

A.D. 1628. 4 Charles I. "dalous aspersions in most part of the same. And "I do humbly acknowledge the just proceedings of "this honourable house against me, and the just "sentence and judgment passed upon me for my "great offence. And I do from the bottom of my "heart crave pardon of God, the king, and this "honourable house, and the commonweal in general, "and those worthy persons adjudged to be reflected "upon by me in particular, for those great offences "and errors."

How this doctor, Roger Mainwaring, (notwithstanding the foresaid censure,) was afterwards preferred, first to the deanery of Worcester, next to the bishopric of St. David's, God willing in due place thereof[o].

The acts of this parliament.

64. On Thursday, the 26th of this month, ended the session of parliament, wherein little relating to religion was concluded, save only that divers abuses on the Lord's day were restrained: "All carriers, carters, "waggoners, wain-men, drovers of cattle, forbidden "to travel thereon, on the forfeit of twenty shillings "for every offence." Likewise, "Butchers to lose "six shillings and eight pence for killing or selling "any victuals on that day." A law was also made, "That whosoever goeth himself, or sendeth others "beyond the seas to be trained up in popery, &c. "shall be disabled to sue, &c., and shall lose all "his goods, and shall forfeit all his lands, &c. for

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[o] [His vindictive opponents, however, did not cease from persecuting him, although many years had passed away; for on Tuesday, April 28, 1640, a message was delivered to the lords from his majesty, that there being some question concerning Dr. Mainwaring, now bishop of St. David's, his majesty had given command that the bishop should not come to sit in parliament or give any proxy. See Nalson's Coll. ii. p. 336. Any remarks on his sentence would be superfluous.]

"life." Five entire subsidies were granted to the king by the spirituality, and the said grant confirmed by the act of this parliament, which now was first prorogued to the twentieth of October following, and then (on some intervening obstructions) put off to the twentieth of January, when it began again.

Nothing done in that convocation.

65. As for the convocation, concurrent, in time, with this parliament, nothing considerable was acted therein. Dr. Thomas Winniff, dean of Gloucester, preached the Latin sermon; his text, Acts xx. 28, *Attendite ad vos ipsos, et totum gregem, &c.* Dr. Curle was chosen prolocutor, and a low voice would serve the turn where nothing was to be spoken.

The death of Dr. Preston.

66. On the twentieth of July following, Dr. Preston died in his native county of Northamptonshire, near the place of his birth, of a consumption, and was buried at Fauseley, Mr. Dodd preaching his funeral sermon; an excellent preacher, of whom Mr. Noy was wont to say, that he preached as if he knew God's will; a subtle disputant and great politician; so that his foes must confess, that (if not having too little of the dove) he had enough of the serpent. Some will not stick to say he had large parts of sufficient receipt to manage the broad seal itself, which, if the condition had pleased him, was proffered unto him, for he might have been the duke's right hand, though at last less than his little finger unto him; who, despairing that this patriarch of the presbyterian party would bring off his side unto him, used him no longer who would not or could not be useful unto him. Most of this doctor's posthume books have been happy in their education, I mean in being well brought forth into the world,

though all of them have not lighted on so good guardians; but his life is so largely and learnedly written by one of his own pupils[p], that nothing can be added unto it.

The death of bishop Carleton. [May 1628.]

67. About this time George Carleton, that grave and godly bishop of Chichester, ended his pious life. He was born at Norham[q], in Northumberland, where his father was the keeper of that important castle in the marches, an employment speaking him wise and valiant in those dangerous and warlike days. He was bred and brought up under Mr. Bernard Gilpin, that apostolical man, (whose life he wrote in gratitude to his memory,) and retained his youthful and poetical studies fresh in his old age. He was selected by king James one of the five divines sent over to the synod of Dort. He wrote many small tracts, (one against sir John Heydon about judicial astrology,) which conjoined would amount to a great volume. Mr. Richard Mountague, one of a different judgment, succeeded in his see, who at first met with some small opposition on the following occasion.

Mr. Mountague's confirmation opposed.

68. There is a solemnity performed before the consecration of every bishop in this manner: The royal assent being passed on his election, the archbishop's vicar-general proceeds to his confirmation, commonly kept in Bow church. A process is issued forth to call all persons to appear, to shew cause why the elect there present should not be confirmed. For, seeng a bishop is in a manner married to his see, (save that hereafter he taketh his surname

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[p] Mr. Tho. Ball, of Northampton. [See a further account of him and his writings in Wood's Athen. i. p. 517.]

[q] Camden Brit. in Northumberland.

from his wife, and not she from him,) this ceremony is a kind of asking the banns, to see if any can allege any lawful cause to forbid them. Now at the confirmation of Mr. Mountague, when liberty was given to any objectors against him, one Mr. Humphreys, (since a parliament colonel, lately deceased,) and William Jones, a stationer of London, (who alone is mentioned in the record,) excepted against Mr. Mountague, as unfitting for the episcopal office, chiefly on this account, because lately censured by parliament for his book, and rendered uncapable of all preferment in the church.

But the opposition ineffectual.

69. But exception was taken at Jones his exceptions, (which the record calls *prætensos articulos*) as defective in some legal formalities. I have been informed, it was alleged against him for bringing in his objections *viva voce*, and not by a proctor, that court adjudging all private persons effectually dumb, who speak not by one admitted to plead therein. Jones returned, that he could not get any proctor, though pressing them importunately, and proffering them their fee, to present his exceptions, and therefore was necessitated *ore tenus* there to allege them against Mr. Mountague. The register[r] mentioneth no particular defects in his exceptions, but Dr. Rives (substitute at that time for the vicar-general) declined to take any notice of them, and concludeth Jones amongst the contumacious, *quod nullo modo legitime comparuit, nec aliquid in hac parte juxta juris exigentiam diceret, exciperet, vel opponeret.* Yet this good Jones did bishop Mountague, that he caused his addresses to the king to procure a par-

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[r] Registrum Cantuar. fol. 140. in anno 1628.

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don, which was granted unto him in form like those given at the coronation, save that some particulars were inserted therein for the pardoning of all errors heretofore committed, either in speaking, writing, or printing, whereby he might hereafter be questioned. The like at the same time was granted to Dr. Mainwaring, on whom the rich parsonage of Stanford Rivers, in Essex, was conferred, as void by bishop Mountague's preferment.

Caution seasonably used.

70. An intention there was for the bishop and all the company employed at his confirmation to dine at a tavern, but Dr. Thomas Rives utterly refused it, rendering this reason; that he had heard that the dining at a tavern gave all the colour to that far-spreading and long-lasting lie of Matthew Parker his being consecrated at the Nag's Head in Cheapside; and for ought he knew captious people would be ready to raise the like report on the same occasion. It being therefore Christian caution, not only to quench the fire of sin, but also (if possible) to put out the smoke of scandal, they removed their dining to another place.

The parliament dissolved. [1629.]

71. On the twentieth of January the parliament was reassembled, which died issueless (as I may say) the March following, leaving no acts (abortions are no children) completed behind it. Let the reader who desireth further instructions of the passages herein consult the historians of the state. Indeed, if the way were good and weather fair, a traveller, to please his curiosity in seeing the country, might adventure to ride a little out of the road; but he is none of the wisest, who, in a tempest and miry way, will lose time and leave his own journey. If pleasant and generally acceptable were the transactions in this

parliament, it might have tempted me to touch a little thereon, out of the track of my church story; but finding nothing but stirs and storms therein, I will only go on fair and softly in my beaten path of ecclesiastical affairs. Bishop Laud had no great cause to be a mourner at the funerals of this parliament, having entered it in his diary, that it endeavoured his destruction[s].

Proclamation against the bishop of Chalcedon.

72. At this time Richard Smith[t], (distinct from Henry Smith, *alias* Lloyd, a Jesuit, whom some confound as the same person,) being in title bishop of Chalcedon, in Greece, in truth, a dangerous English priest[u], acted and exercised episcopal jurisdiction over the catholics here, by commission from the pope, appearing in his *pontificalibus* in Lancashire, with his mitre and crosier, to the wonder of poor people, and conferring orders and the like. This was much offensive to the regulars, as entrenching on their privileges, who countermined him as much as they might. His majesty, having notice of this Romish agent, renewed his proclamation (one of a former date taking no effect) for his apprehension, promising an hundred pounds to be presently paid to him that did it, besides all the profits which accrued to the crown, as legally due from the person who entertained him[x].

He flieth in to France.

72. However, such as hid and harboured him

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[s] [See Laud's Diary, p. 44, and p. 238.]

[t] [The best account of this affair, and the disputes occasioned by Dr. Smith's appointment, will be found in the Memoirs of Gregorio Panzani, the papal nuncio, by Berrington, p. 108 and 119.]

[u] [He was originally a student of Trin. Coll. in Oxford. See Wood, ib.]

[x] [Dr. Bliss has reprinted these proclamations in his edition of Wood's Athen. iii. 384. The first bears date 11th Dec.; the other the 24th of March following, 1629.]

were neither frighted with the penalty nor flattered with the profit to discover him. But Smith, conceiving his longer stay here to be dangerous, conveyed himself over into France, where he became a confident of cardinal Richelieu's. The convenience and validity of his episcopal power was made the subject of several books which were written thereon

In favour of him.

1. Nicholas le Maitre, a Sorbonne priest, in his book, entitled *De Persecutione Episcoporum, et de illustrissimo Antistite Chalcedonensi.*
2. The faculty of Paris, which censured all such as opposed him[y].

In opposition to him.

1. Daniel, a Jesuit[z].
2. Horucan.
3. Lumley.
4. Nicholas Smith[a].

This Chalcedon Smith wrote a book called The Prudential Balance, much commended by men of his own persuasion; and, for aught I know, is still alive[b].

The death and character of Toby Matthew. [Mar. 29, 1628.]

74. Within the compass of this year died the reverend Toby Matthew, archbishop of York. He was born in the Somersetshire side of Bristol, and in his childhood had a marvellous preservation, when with a fall he brake his foot, ancle, and small of his

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[y] [Pet. Aurelius, Opera, I. præf. sub init. Other authors besides those here mentioned engaged on both sides in this controversy. See Panzani, ib.]

[z] [Daniel a Jesu, or properly, father John Floyd, an English Jesuit; his book, which was printed in 1631, is entitled: "Apologia Sanctæ Sedis Apostolicæ, pro modo procedendi," &c.]

[a] ["Brevis et modesta discussio assertionum Kellisoni, "&c. 1631." His real name was Edward Knott, the superior of the Jesuits, Chillingworth's opponent. See Panzani, p. 124.]

[b] [He died March 8, 1655. See Wood's Athen. ii. p. 187.]

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leg, which were so soon recovered to eye[c], use, sight, service, that not the least mark remained thereof. Coming to Oxford, he fixed at last in Christ Church, and became dean thereof. He was one of a proper person, (such people, *cæteris paribus*, and sometimes *cæteris imparibus*, were preferred by the queen,) and an excellent preacher, Campian himself confessing that he did *in concionibus dominari*[d]. He was of a cheerful spirit, yet without any trespass on episcopal gravity, there lying a real distinction between facetiousness and nugacity. None could condemn him for his pleasant wit, though often he would condemn himself, as so habited therein he could as well not be, as not be merry, and not take up an innocent jest as it lay in the way of his discourse[e].

His gratitude unto God.

75. One passage must not be forgotten. After he had arrived at his greatness, he made one journey into the west to visit his two mothers; her that bare him at Bristol, and her that bred him in learning, the university of Oxford. Coming near to the latter, attended with a train suitable to his present condition, he was met almost with an equal number, who came out of Oxford to give him entertainment. Thus augmented with another troop, and remembering he had passed over a small water a poor scholar, when first coming to the university, he kneeled down and took up the expression of Jacob, *With my staff came I over this Jordan, and now I am become two*

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[c] Sir John Harington in his [Nugæ Antiquæ, ii. p. 258.]

[d] [See Campian's X Rationes, p. 70.]

[e] [Sir John Harington has preserved some instances of it. See his Nugæ Antiquæ, ii. p. 259. See also his life in Wood's Athenæ, i. p. 730.]

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bands. I am credibly informed that, *mutatis mutandis*, the same was performed by his predecessor, archbishop Hutton, at Sophister's Hill, nigh Cambridge, and am so far from distrusting either, that I believe both.

Died yearly.

76. He died yearly in report, and I doubt not but that in the apostle's sense he died daily in his mortifying meditations. He went over the graves of many who looked for his archbishopric; I will not say they catched a cold in waiting barefoot for a living man's shoes. His wife, the daughter of bishop Barlow, (a confessor in queen Mary's days,) was a prudent and a provident matron. Of this extraction came sir Toby Matthew, having all his father's name, many of his natural parts, few of his moral virtues, fewer of his spiritual graces, as being an inveterate enemy to the Protestant religion[f].

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[f] [Being a person of considerable attainments, and intimate with most of the wits in that wit-loving age, (among others, with Dr. Donne and sir Francis Bacon,) he was taken notice of by the duke of Buckingham, and employed by him in various capacities. He attended the prince and the duke into Spain, and managed part of the correspondence; (see the Cabala and Goodman's Memoirs). When the duke died, sir Toby (who was knighted in 1623 for his services in Spain) attached himself to the celebrated earl of Strafford, whom he attended into Ireland; but to neither party did the intimacy prove advantageous; Strafford especially being exposed, on his account, to the greatest suspicions of the puritanical party. He died at Ghent in 1655, in a house belonging to the Jesuits, of which fraternity he was a member. Wood sums up his character with great fairness: "He had "all his father's name and "many of his natural parts; "was also one of considerable "learning, good memory, and "sharp wit, mixed with a plea"sant affability in behaviour, "and a seeming sweetness of "mind, though sometimes, ac"cording to the company he "was in, pragmatical and a "little too forward." Athenæ, Oxon. ii. p. 195. The character of the celebrated lady Lucy Carlisle, prefixed to his letters, is one of the most favourable specimens of his ability.

George Mountain succeeded him, scarce warm in his church before cold in his coffin, as not continuing many months therein[g].

The death of bishop Felton.

77. I humbly crave the reader's pardon for omitting due time of the death of reverend Dr. Nicholas Felton, bishop of Ely, as buried before (though dying some days after) bishop Andrews; and indeed great was the conformity betwixt them—both being sons of seafaring men[h], (who, by God's blessing on their industry, attained comfortable estates,) both scholars, fellows, and masters of Pembroke Hall, both great scholars, painful preachers in London for many years, with no less profit to others than credit to themselves, both successively bishops of Ely. This bishop Felton had a sound head and a sanctified heart, beloved of God and all good men, very hospitable to all, and charitable to the poor. He died the 5th of October, 1626, and lieth buried under the communion table in St. Antholin's in London, whereof he had been minister for twenty-eight years[i]. One (whilst a private man) happy in his curates, (whereof two, Dr. Bowles and Dr. Westfield, afterwards became bishops,) and (when a bishop) no less happy in his learned and religious chaplains.

His father, the bishop, was intimate with the well-known sir Thomas Fairfax, and Henry Fairfax, the second son, was chaplain to the archbishop. See a very curious anecdote respecting the two sons in Goodman's Memoirs, ii. p. 269, note.]

[g] [He was an aged man when he succeeded to the see; which happened in July, 1628; and before the end of the year he died. See Hacket's Life of Williams, i. p. 168.]

[h] Bishop Andrews in London, and Felton in Yarmouth.

[i] Attested unto me by John Norgate his son-in-law.

SECT. VII.

TO

JOHN CARY[a],

OF STANSTED IN HERTFORDSHIRE, ESQ.

Rare is your happiness in leaving the court before it left you. Not in deserting your attendance on your master, (of whom none more constantly observant,) but in quitting such vanities which the court then in power did tender, and you, then in prime, might have accepted. Whilst you seasonably retrenched yourself, and reduced your soul to a holy seriousness, declining such expensive recreations, (on principles of piety as well as providence,) wherewith your youth was so much affected.

And now, sir, seeing you are so judicious in racing, give me leave to prosecute the apostle's metaphor in applying my best wishes to you and to your worthy lady, which hath repaired the losses caused by loyalty, so that you have found in a virtuous mate what you have lost for a gracious master.

Heaven is your mark, Christ your way thither, the Word the way to Christ, God's Spirit the guide to both. When in this race impatience shall make you to tire, or ignorance

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[a] [Arms. Argent, on a bend sable three roses of the field. Fifth baron of Hunsdon; eldest son of Henry Cary, fourth baron of Hunsdon, and Judith, daughter of sir Thomas Pelham of Laughton, in Sussex, bart. He married Abigail, daughter of the celebrated sir William Cokaine, knight, and alderman of the city of London. Various members of this family were fined by the parliament for their loyalty to king Charles; among the rest two bearing the same Christian name, of whom probably this person was one. He died in 1677, at the age of 68. See Clutterbuck's Herts. ii. p. 181.]

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to stray, or idleness to stay, or weakness to stumble, or wilfulness to fall; may repentance raise you, faith quicken you, patience strengthen you, till perseverance bring you both to the mark.

The birth and death of prince Charles.

QUEEN MARY surprised with some fright, (as is generally believed,) antedated the time of her travail by some weeks, and was delivered of a son [b]. But a greater acceleration was endeavoured in his baptism than what happened at his birth, such the forwardness of the popish priests to snatch him from the hands of those as dressed him, had not the care of king Charles prevented them, assigning Dr. Webbe (then waiting his month) to christen him. He died about an hour after, the king very patiently bearing the loss, as receiving the first fruits of some of his subjects' estates, and as willingly paying those of his own body to the King of heaven.

Oxford muses.

2. The university of Oxford (Cambridge being then heavily infected with the plague) at once in their verses congratulated the safe birth, and condoled the short life of this prince; and a tetrastich, made by one of Christ Church, (thus in making his address to the queen,) I must not omit.

Quod Lucina tuos semel est frustrata labores,
Nec fortunantes præbuit illa manus,
Ignoscas regina: uno molimine ventris,
Non potuit princeps ad tria regna dari.

This prince the next day after was buried by bishop Laud in the chapel at Westminster.

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[b] [From some fright caused by a mastiff attacking a spaniel in the presence-chamber.]

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Dr. Leighton his railing book.

3. During the sitting of the last parliament, one Leighton[b], a Scottish man, presented a book unto them: had he been an Englishman we durst call him a furious, and now will term him a fiery, (whence kindled let others guess,) writer. His book consisted of a continued railing from the beginning to the end; exciting the parliament and people to kill all the bishops, and so smite them under the fifth rib. He bitterly inveighed against the queen, calling her a daughter of Heth, a Canaanite and idolatress; and "Zion's Plea" was the specious title of his pamphlet; for which he was sentenced, in the Star-chamber, to be whipped and stigmatized, to have his ears cropped and nose slit[c]. But betwixt the pronouncing and inflicting this censure, he makes his escape into Bedfordshire.

Recovered (after his escape) and severely punished.

4. The warden of the fleet was in a bushel of troubles about his escape, though alleging that some helped him over the wall, and that he himself knew nothing thereof till the noon after. But no plea seemed available for one in his place, but either the keeping or recovering of his prisoner; unfortunate in the former, he was happy in the latter, and brought him back into his custody, so that the aforesaid censure was inflicted on him[d]. It is re-

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[b] [Father of the celebrated bishop Leighton. According to the indictment and the report of his trial, in Rushworth, Leighton was a Roman Catholic. If this be true, and it seems probable from what is stated below, then this is another instance of tracts being circulated by the Romanists against the church in the name of the puritans. Hist. Coll. iii. App. p. 29.]

[c] [See the proceedings against him in the Star-chamber, in Rushworth, ii. p. 55.]

[d] [" He was taken again in " Bedfordshire, and brought " back to the Fleet, within a " fortnight." Laud's Diary, p. 45. Two persons named Livingston and Anderson, who changed clothes with him and favoured his escape, were fined

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markable, that amongst the many accusations charged on archbishop Laud at his trial, the severity on Leighton is not at all mentioned, chiefly because (though he might be suspected active therein) his faults were of so high a nature, none then or since dare appear in his defence. The papists boast that they have beyond the seas, with them, his son of another persuasion.

Feoffees to buy in impropriations.

5. Some three years since, certain feoffees were (though not incorporated by the king's letters patent, or any act of parliament) legally settled in trust to purchase in impropriations with their own and other well disposed persons' money, and with their profit to set up and maintain a constant preaching ministry in places of greatest need, where the word was most wanting. These consisted of a number neither too few, as the work should burthen them, nor so many as might be a burthen to the work, twelve in all, diversely qualified.

1 William Gouge, D.D.
2 Richard Sibbs, D.D.
3 C. Offspring.
4 J. Davenport.
5 Ralph Eyre of Lincoln's Inn.
6 S. Brown of Lincoln's Inn.
7 C. Sherland of Gray's Inn.
8 John White of Mid. Temple.
9 John Geering, citizen.
10 Richard Davis, citizen.
11 George Harwood, citizen.
12 Francis Bridges, citizen.

Here were four divines to persuade men's consciences, four lawyers to draw all conveyances, and four citizens who commanded rich coffers, wanting nothing, save (which since doth all things) some swordmen, to defend all the rest. Besides these, the Cape merchants, (as I may term them,) there were other inferior factors, Mr. Foxley, &c., who

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500*l.* apiece. See Rushworth's Hist. Coll. iii. App. p. 32, and ii. p. 56.]

A.D. 1629. 5 Charles I. were employed by appointment, or of officiousness employed themselves in this design.

Begin and proceed hopefully. 6. It is incredible what large sums were advanced in a short time towards so laudable an employment. There are indeed in England of parish churches, nine thousand two hundred eighty-four, endowed with glebe and tithes; but of these, (when these feoffees entered on their work,) three thousand eight hundred forty-five were either appropriated to bishops, cathedrals, and colleges, or impropriated (as lay-fees) to private persons, as formerly belonging to abbeys. The redeeming and restoring of the latter was these feoffees' design, and it was verily believed, (if not obstructed in their endeavours,) within fifty years, rather purchases than money would have been wanting unto them, buying them generally (as candle-rents) at or under twelve years' valuation. My pen passing by them at the present may safely salute them with a God speed, as neither seeing nor suspecting any danger in the design[e].

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[e] [The history of these feoffees is described rather differently, and more completely, by Dr. Heylin in "The Appeal," &c. part iii. p. 13; and as the justice of his remarks is acknowledged by Fuller, we shall present them to the reader. After observing that they were entirely self-appointed, and only "a secret combination of the "brotherhood" acting for their own advantage, "not laying "the impropriations by them "purchased to the church or "chapelry to which they had an- "ciently belonged, nor settling "them on the incumbent of "the place, as many hoped they "would;" he proceeds to state that their object "was not to "advantage the regular and "established clergy, but to set "up a new body of lecturers "in convenient places for the "promoting of the *cause*. And "therefore, having bought an "impropriation, they parcelled "it out into annual pensions "of 40*l*. or 50*l*. per ann. and "therewith salaried some lec- "turers in such market towns "where the people had com- "monly less to do, and con- "sequently were more apt to "faction and innovation than "in other places. Our author "notes it of their predecessors

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The bishop of Chalcedon his episcopizing in England.

7. Richard Smith, titulary bishop of Chalcedon, taking his honour from Greece, his profit from Eng-

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"in Cartwright's days, that they preached most diligently in populous places; 'it being observed in England, that those who hold the helm of the pulpit always steer people's hearts as they please,"' ix. 16. §. 22. "And he notes it also of these feoffees, that in conformity hereunto they set up a preaching ministry in places of greatest need, not in such parish churches to which the tithes properly belonged, but where they thought the word was most wanting to advance their projects. 3rdly, If we behold the men whom they made choice of and employed in preaching in such market towns as they had an eye on, either because most populous, or because capable of electing burgesses to serve in parliament, they were for the most part non-conformists, and sometimes such as had been silenced by their ordinary or the high commission for their factious carriage. And such a one was placed by Geering, one of the citizen feoffees, in a town of Gloucestershire; a fellow who had been outed of a lecture near Sandwich by the archbishop of Canterbury, out of another in Middlesex by the bishop of London, out of a third in Yorkshire by the archbishop of York, out of a fourth in Hertfordshire by the bishop of Lincoln, and finally suspended from his ministry by the high commission; yet thought the fittest man by Geering, as indeed he was, to begin this lecture. 4thly, and finally, These pensions were neither so settled, nor these lectures so well established in their several places, but that the one might be withdrawn and the other removed at the will and pleasure of their patrons, if they grew slack and negligent in the *holy cause*, or abated any thing at all of that fire and fury they first brought with them. Examples of which I know some and have heard of more. And now I would fain know of our author whether there be no danger to be seen or suspected in this design, whether these feoffees in short time would not have had more chaplains to depend upon them than all the bishops in the kingdom; and finally, whether such needy fellows depending on the will and pleasure of their gracious masters, must not be forced to preach such doctrines only as best please their humors. And though I shall say nothing here of their giving underhand private pensions, not only unto such as had been silenced or suspended in the ecclesiastical courts, but many times also to their wives and children after their decease, all issuing from this common stock: yet others have beheld it as the greatest piece of wit and artifice both land, (where he bishoped it over all the Romish Catholics,) was now very busy in his employment; but when, where, and how oft he acted here, is past our discovery, it being never known when men of his profession come hither, till they be caught here. Now if any demand why the pope did not entitle him to some English rather than this Grecian bishopric, (the grant of both being but of the same price of his holiness his breath, and the confirmation equally cheap in wax and parchment,) especially seeing that in Ireland he had made anti-bishops to all sees, it is easy for one (though none of his conclave) to conjecture. For in Ireland he had in every diocese and parish a counterpart of people for number and quality, which he had not in England, and therefore to entitle bishops here had but rendered it the more ridiculous in the granter, and dangerous in the accepter thereof.

Opposed by Nicholas Smith.

8. Nicholas Smith, a regular, (and perchance a Jesuit,)[f] much stomached the advancement and ac-

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"to encourage and increase "their emissaries which could "possibly be devised. If, as "our author tells us, §. 30. "the design was generally approved, and that both discreet and devout men were "doleful at the ruin of so "pious a project, it was because they neither did suspect the danger, nor foresee "the mischiefs which unavoidably must have followed, if "not crushed in time."

See also the information laid against these feoffees in the exchequer, 8 Charles I., in Rushworth, ii. p. 150. Of the divines here mentioned Gouge was afterwards a member of the Assembly; Davenport went to New England, being too violent a puritan for this country; White was the author of that notorious libel against the clergy, called "A Century of Malignant Priests," &c. subsequently a member of parliament, and a witness against archbishop Laud. One of their first acts was to appoint Baxter to a lectureship in Kidderminster.]

[f] [Wood tells us that "Edw. "Knott, a Jesuit, went sometimes by the name of Nich. "Smith; *Quære?*" The matter is past doubt: for in the "Reply to M. Nic. Smith,"

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6 Charles I.

tivity of Richard Smith, bishop of Chalcedon, and wrote bitterly against him; the hammer of one Smith clashing against another. He fell foul also on Dr. Kellison, president of the college of Douay, who lately set forth a treatise of the dignity and necessity of bishop and secular clergy[g], generally opposing his doctrine, and particularly in relation to the English bishops, instancing in the following exceptions;

Alleging a bishop over English catholics useless in persecution.

9. First, a bishop over the English was useless; and might well be spared in times of persecution, there being but two peculiar performances of a bishop[h], viz. ordination and confirmation. For the former it might be supplied by foreign bishops, the priests of our English nation being generally bred beyond the seas. As for confirmation of the children of English catholics, he much decried the necessity thereof, (though not so far as to un-seven the sacraments of the church of Rome,) affirming it out of St. Thomas of Aquin[i], and other divines, that, by commission from the pope, a priest, though no bishop, might confirm. To this Dr. Kellison his scholar (or himself under the vizard) replied, that in the definition of St. Cyprian[k], a church was a people

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&c. p. 12, the following passage occurs: "Why should I, [Dr. "Kellison; for the writer is "quoting his words,] encounter "with an adversary that dareth "not shew himself in the field, "and therefore goeth masked "under another man's name; "though it is thought he walk"eth rather in a net; the ques"tion who he should be being "not so hard to solve, as *Gor"dius* his *Knotte* was to be "dissolved."]

[g] [The full title of this book is "A Reply to M. Nicholas "Smith his Discussion of Some "Points of M. Doctor Kelli"son his Treatise of the Hier"archie. By a Divine. Printed "at Douay, by the Widow of "Marke Wyon, 1630." 12°.]

[h] ["Reply to N. Smith," &c. p. 16 and p. 21 sq.]

[i] [Summa, iii. 9; lxxii. art. 11.]

[k] [Cypr. Epist. 69. als. 66.]

united to its bishop, and therefore an absolute necessity of that function[l].

And burthensome.

10. Secondly, he was burthensome to the church, considering the present pressures of poor English catholics, needing now no unnecessary expenses for the maintenance of the bishop and his agents[m]. To this it was answered, that Mr. Nicholas Smith and his brethren regulars "daily put the catholics "to far greater charges, as appeareth by the stately "houses, purchases," &c.[n] Indeed, generally the little finger of a Jesuit was conceived, in his entertainment, heavier than the loins of a secular. Meantime, in what case were our English lay catholics, with *Issachar couching down between two burthens*[o], bearing the weight of both regulars and seculars? but who need pity them who will not pity themselves?

And this bishop no ordinary.

11. Thirdly, he took exceptions at the person of this bishop of Chalcedon, as not lawfully called in canonical criticism[p]. First, because not estated in his episcopal inspection over England, during his

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[l] [According to G. Wright, in his preface to Nic. Smith's book, Kellison gave the first offence by his work upon the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, in which he took occasion to glance at these proceedings in England. Pref. p. 9. The principal offence on the part of Kellison was doubtless the assertion that the seculars were *jure divino* governors of the church and part of the hierarchy, but the regulars were not, being only their assistants (*illorum opitulatores*) by extraordinary privilege. Ib. 11.]

[m] [According to Wright, this appointment of the bishop of Chalcedon was vexatious to the Romanists in another way; for in the search made for him by the officers of the government, the houses of other Roman Catholics were entered, and whilst the bishop was sought for, many of the same persuasion were apprehended. Pref. p. 6.]

[n] "Reply to Mr. N. Smith," p. 194.

[o] Gen. xlix. 14.

[p] ["Reply to Nic. Smith," &c. p. 287, sq.]

life, (as a bishop ought to be,) but only constituted *ad beneplacitum papæ*, at the pleasure of the pope; which restriction destroyeth his being a lawful ordinary. Secondly, he carpeth at him as made by delegation and commission, and therefore a delegate, not an ordinary. To which the other replied, that even legates have that clause in their commission, limited to the pope's pleasure, and yet no catholic will question them to be lawful ordinaries. As to the second exception, the same, saith he, doth not destroy his ordinaryship, but only sheweth he was made an ordinary in an extraordinary manner: which distinction, how far it will hold good in the canon law, let those inquire who are concerned therein.

Regulars' pride and proposition condemned.

12. Notwithstanding Dr. Kellison his confutation, the insolency of the regulars daily increased in England, so that they themselves may seem the most seculars; so fixed were they to the wealth and vanity of this world. The Irish regulars exceeded the English in pride, maintaining (amongst other printed propositions) that the superiors of regulars are more worthy than bishops themselves, because the honour of the pastor is to be measured from the condition of the flock, *quemadmodum opilio dignior est subulco*, as a shepherd is of more esteem than a hoggard. In application of the first to themselves, the last to the seculars, it is hard to say whether their pride was more in their own praise, or charity less in condemning of others. It was therefore high time for the doctors of Sorbonne, in Paris, (who for many ages have maintained in their college the hereditary reputation of learning,) to take these regulars to task. Sixty of the Sorbonne doctors censured the aforesaid proposition,

A.D. 1630. 6 Charles I. and the archbishop of Paris condemned the book of Nicholas Smith, as also another tending to the same subject, made by one Daniel, a Jesuit[q].

Quere whether now reconciled. 13. On what terms the regulars and seculars stand in England at this day, I neither know nor list to inquire. Probably they have learned wit from our woes, and our late sad differences have occasioned their reconcilement. Only I learn this distinction from them; the "catholics, as catholics, agree al-"ways in matters of faith, and good catholics never "break charity, but the best catholics, as men, may "vary in their opinions[r]." I hope they will allow to us what liberty they assume to themselves[s].

Bishop Davenant his sermon at court. 14. Dr. John Davenant, bishop of Salisbury, preached his course on a Sunday in Lent, at Whitehall, before the king and court, finishing a text Rom. vi. 23, the former part whereof he had handled the year before. In prosecution whereof it seems he was conceived to fall on some forbidden points, insomuch that his majesty (whether at first by his own inclination, or others' instigation, is uncertain) manifested much displeasure thereat. Sermon ending, his adversaries at court hoped hereby to make him fall totally and finally from the king's favour, though missing their mark herein, as in fine it did appear.

For which he is convented before the council. 15. Two days after he was called before the privy council, where he presented himself on his knees, and so had still continued for any favour he found from any of his own function there present. But the temporal lords bade him arise and stand to his own defence, being as yet only accused, not convicted. Dr. Harsnet, archbishop of York, managed all the business against him, (bishop Laud walking by all the while in silence spake not one word,) making a long oration uttered with much vehemency to this effect:

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[q] [Entitled "Apologia Sanc-"tæ Sedis Apostolicæ pro "modo procedendi circa regi-"men Catholicorum Angliæ "tempore persecutionis, cum "defensione religiosi status." Rothomagi, 1631.]

[r] "Reply to Mr. N. Smith," Pref. p. 20.

[s] [Berrington, in his Preface to Panzani's Memoirs, has treated this subject at considerable length. See also Rushworth's Collections, ii. p. 15.]

First, He magnified king James his bounty unto him, who, from a private master of a college in Cambridge, (without any other immediate preferment,) advanced him by an unusual rise to the great and rich bishopric of Salisbury.

Secondly, He extolled the piety and prudence of king Charles in setting forth lately an useful declaration, wherein he had commanded that many intricate questions, tending more to distraction than edification of people, should utterly be forborne in preaching, and which had already produced much peace in the church.

Thirdly, He aggravated the heinousness of the bishop's offence, who so ill requited his majesty's favour unto him, as to offer in his own presence, in so great an auditory, to break his declaration, inviting others by his example to do the like.

Fourthly, That high contempt was the lowest term could be given to such an offence, seeing ignorance could in no probability be pretended in a person of his reputed learning and eminent profession.

What the other answered hereunto will best appear by his own letter written to his worthy friend, doctor Ward, giving him an exact account of all proceedings herein in manner as followeth:

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Bishop Davenant his relation of the whole matter in his letter to Dr. Ward.

16. [t] "—— As for my court business, though it "grieved me that the established doctrine of our "church should be distasted, yet it grieved me the "less, because the truth of what I delivered was "acknowledged even by those which thought fit to "have me questioned for the delivery of it. Pre"sently after my sermon was ended, it was signified "unto me by my lord of York, and my lord of "Winchester, and my lord chamberlain, that his "majesty was much displeased that I had stirred "this question, which he had forbidden to be "meddled withal, one way or other: my answer "was, that I had delivered nothing but the received "doctrine of our church established in the 17th "Article, and that I was ready to justify the truth "of what I had then taught. Their answer was, "the doctrine was not gainsaid, but his highness "had given command these questions should not "be debated, and therefore he took it more offen"sively that any should be so bold, as in his own "hearing to break his royal commands. And here "my lord of York aggravated the offence from "many other circumstances. My reply was only "this: That I never understood that his majesty "had forbid handling of any doctrine comprised in "the Articles of our church, but only 'raising of "new questions, or adding new sense thereunto,' "which I had not done, nor ever should. This was "all that passed betwixt us on Sunday night after "my sermon. The matter thus rested, and I heard "no more of it, till coming unto the Tuesday "sermon, one of the clerks of the council told me, "that I was to attend at the council-table the next

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[t] [Original holograph, Tanner's MSS. lxxi. 39.]

"day at two of the clock. I told him I would wait "upon their lordships at the hour appointed. When "I came thither, my lord of York made a speech "wellnigh half an hour long, aggravating the bold-"ness of my offence, and shewing many inconve-"niences that it was likely to draw after it. And "he much insisted upon this, what good effect his "majesty's declaration had wrought, how these con-"troversies had ever since been buried in silence, "no man meddling with them one way or other. "When his grace had finished his speech, I desired "the lords, that since I was called thither as an "offender, I might not be put to answer a long "speech upon the sudden, but that my lord's grace "would be pleased to charge me point by point, "and so to receive mine answer, for I did not yet "understand wherein I had broken any command-"ment of his majesty, which my lord in his whole "discourse took for granted. Having made this "motion, I gave no further answer; and all the "lords were silent for a while. At length my lord's "grace said I knew well enough the point which "was urged against me, namely the breach of the "king's declaration. Then I stood upon this de-"fence; That the doctrine of predestination which "I taught was not forbidden by the declaration. "First, because in the declaration all the Articles "are established, amongst which, the Article of "predestination is one. Secondly, because all min-"isters are urged to subscribe unto the truth of "that Article, and all subjects to continue in the "profession of that as well as of the rest. Upon "these and such like grounds, I gathered it could "not be esteemed amongst 'forbidden, curious, or

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" needless doctrines.' And here I desired that out " of any clause in the declaration it might be shewed " me (that keeping myself within the bounds of the " Article) I had transgressed his majesty's command. " But the declaration was not produced, nor any " particular words in it; only this was urged, that " the king's will was, that for the peace of the " church these high questions should be forborne. " My answer then was, that I was sorry I understood not his majesty's intention, which if I had " done before, I should have made choice of some " other matter to entreat of, which might have " given no offence; and that for the time to come " I should conform myself as readily as any other to " his majesty's commands. The earl of Arundel " seemed to approve of this my answer, and withal " advised me to proceed no further in my defence. " This is in substance all which was done or said in " this matter, and so I was dismissed. The lords " said nothing either in approbation of what I had " alleged, to shew that I had not wittingly broken " the king's known command, or in confirmation of " the contrary, urged against me by my lord's grace. " At my departure I entreated their lordships to let " his majesty understand that I had not boldly, or " wilfully and wittingly, against his declaration, " meddled with the forenamed point; and that now " understanding fully his majesty's mind, and intention, I should humbly yield obedience thereunto. " This business thus ended, I went the next day to " my lord chamberlain, and intreated him to do me " the favour that I might be brought to kiss the " king's hand before I went out of town, which his " lordship most readily promised and performed.

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" When I came in, his majesty declared his resolution that he would not have this high point " meddled withal or debated, either the one way or " the other; because it was too high for the people's " understanding, and other points which concern " reformation and newness of life were more needful " and profitable. I promised obedience herein, and " so kissing his majesty's hand departed. I thought " fit to acquaint you with the whole carriage of this " business, because I am afraid many false reports " will be made of it, and contrary one to another, as " men stand contrarily affected. I shewed no letter " or instructions; neither have any, but those general " instructions, which king James gave us at our " going to Dort, which make little or nothing to " this business. I sought amongst my papers, but " could not find them on the sudden, and I suppose " you have them already. As for my sermon, the " brief heads were these: 'Eternal life is the gift " of God, through Jesus Christ our Lord[t].' As in " the former part I had spoken of the threefold " misery of the wicked, so here I propounded the " threefold happiness of the godly to be considered.

" i. Happy in the Lord whom they serve: God " or Christ Jesus.

" ii. Happy in the reward of their service: Eternal " life.

" iii. Happy in the manner of their reward: χάρισμα, or gratuitum donum in Christo.

" The two former points were not excepted " against. In the third and last I considered eternal " life in three diverse instances. In the eternal destination thereunto, which we call *election*. In our

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[t] Rom. vi. 23.

"conversion, regeneration, or justification, which I "termed the *embryo* of eternal life. (John iv. 14.) "And last of all in our coronation, when full possession of eternal life is given us. In all these I "shewed it to be χάρισμα, or the free gift of God, "through Christ, and not procured or promerited, by "any special good acts depending upon the free will "of men. The last point, wherein I opposed the "popish doctrine of merit, was not disliked. The "second, wherein I shewed that effectual vocation "or regeneration (whereby we have eternal life "inchoated and begun in us) is a free gift, was not "expressly taxed. Only the first was it which bred "the offence; not in regard of the doctrine itself, "but because (as my lord's grace said) the king had "prohibited the debating thereof. And thus having "let you understand the carriage of this business I "commit you to the protection of the Almighty,

"And rest always
"Your very loving friend,
"Jo. Sarum."

The death of bishop Dove.

17. This year Thomas Dove, bishop of Peterborough, ended his life. He was bred in Pembroke hall in Cambridge: chosen tanquam therein, which it seems is a fellow in all things save the name thereof. Afterwards chaplain to queen Elizabeth, who made him dean of Norwich, being much affected with his preaching, as wont to say that "the Holy Ghost was again descended in this "Dove[u]." He was a constant housekeeper and reliever of the poor, so that such who in his life-

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[u] Godwin De Præsul. Angl. p. 559, and sir John Harington in his Nugæ Antiq. ii. p. 209.

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time condemned him for covetousness, have since justly praised his hospitality. Now though doves are generally said to want gall, yet the nonconformists in his diocese will complain of his severity in asserting ecclesiastical discipline, when he silenced five of them in one morning, on the same token that king James is said to say "it might have served for "five years." He was an aged man, being the only queen Elizabeth's bishop of that province which died in the reign of king Charles, living in a poor bishopric, and leaving a plentiful estate; to shew that it is not the moisture of the place, but the long lying of the stone, which gathereth the great moss therein. In a word, had he been more careful in conferring of orders (too commonly bestowed by him) few of his order had exceeded him for the unblamableness of his behaviour [x].

Troubles begin in Oxford.

18. Now began great discontents to grow up in the university of Oxford on this occasion. Many conceived that innovations (defended by others for renovations, and now only reduced, as used in the

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[x] [Mr. Gunton says that the queen had so good an esteem for him on account of his excellency in preaching, reverend aspect and deportment, that she was wont to call him *the Dove with silver wings.* He was consecrated bishop of Peterborough April 26, 1601. Mr. Isaackson in his Life of Bishop Andrews says, that as soon as Dove was B. A., and so capable of a fellowship in Pembroke hall, there being then but one place void in the college, and Dove being one of its scholars and well approved by many of the society, the warden and fellows put him and Andrews to a trial before them by some scholastical exercises, upon performance whereof they preferred sir Andrews, though they liked sir Dove so well also, that being loth to lose him, they made him some allowance for his present maintenance, under the title of a tanquam socius. See Gunton's Hist. of Peterb. p. 81. Wood's Athen. I. 697.]

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primitive times) were multiplied in divine service. Offended whereat, they in their sermons brake out into (what was interpreted) bitter invectives. Yea their very texts gave some offence, one preaching on Numbers xiv. 4, *Let us make us a captain, and let us return into Egypt.* Another on 1 Kings xiii. 2, *And he cried against the altar in the word of the Lord,* and said, *O altar, altar,* &c. In prosecution whereof they had not only tart reflection on some eminent persons in the church, but also were apprehended to violate the king's declaration for the sopiting of all Arminian controversies.

An appeal from the vice-chancellor to the proctors.

19. Dr. Smith, warden of Wadham, convented the principal persons, (viz. Mr. Thorn of Balliol College, and Mr. Ford of Magdalen Hall,) as offenders against the king's instructions, and ordered them to bring in the copies of their sermons. They, suspecting partiality in the vice-chancellor, appealed from him to the proctors, two men of eminent integrity and ability, Mr. Atherton Bruch, and Mr. John Doughty, who received their appeal, presuming the same justifiable by the Statutes of the university. But it seems the proctors were better scholars than lawyers, except any will say both law and learning must submit, when power is pleased to interpose[y].

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[y] [The vice-chancellor appealed to the king, according to the Statutes. See Laud's Diary, p. 46. Rushworth, though not inclined to favour the authorities of the university, with much more fairness implies that these proceedings on the part of the proctors were illegal and unwarrantable: "The chief ringleaders," he says, "were the said Mr. "Ford and Mr. Thorn. And "the proctors, Mr. Bruch and "Mr. Doughty, received their "appeals, as if it had not been "*perturbatio pacis*. The vice-"chancellor was forced in a "statutable way to appeal to "the king, who with all the

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Severely punished,

20. Archbishop Laud did not like these retrograde appeals, but sensible that his own strength moved rather *ascendendo* than *descendendo*, procured the cause to be heard before the king at Woodstock, where it was so ordered, that [z],

i. The preachers complained of were expelled the university.

ii. The proctors were deprived of their places for accepting their appeal.

iii. Dr. Prideaux and Dr. Wilkinson were shrewdly checked for engaging in their behalf.

The former of these two doctors ingenuously confessing to the king, *Nemo mortalium omnibus horis sapit*, wrought more on his majesty's affections, than if he had harangued it with a long oration in his own defence.

And ill resented.

21. The expulsion of these preachers expelled not, but increased the differences in Oxford, which burnt the more for blazing the less, many complaining that the sword of justice did not cut indifferently on both sides, but that it was more penal for some to touch than others to break the king's declaration.

The death of Mr. Hildersham.

22. This year ended the days of Mr. Arthur Hildersham [a], born at Stitchworth in the county, bred in Christ College in the university of Cambridge, whose education was an experimental comment on

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" lords of the council then " present, heard the cause at " Woodstock, Aug. 23, 1631, " being Tuesday in the after- " noon." Rushworth, ii. 110.]

[z] [Hodges on his submission seems to have been restored: Ford refused " to make any " address to be restored;" expecting to be chosen lecturer in Plymouth, but the trustees of the place " were required " not to choose him upon pain " of his majesty's displeasure." Rushworth, ib.]

[a] [See the Life of Hildersham in Clark's Martyrology, App. p. 114.]

A.D. 1631. 7 Charles I. the words of David, *When my father and mother forsake me, then the Lord taketh me up* [b].

My father—Thomas Hildersham, a gentleman of an ancient family.

And mother—Anne Pole, daughter to sir Jeffery, niece to cardinal Pole, grandchild to sir Richard Pole, and Margaret countess of Salisbury, who was daughter to George duke of Clarence.

Forsake me,—quite casting him off, because he would not be bred a papist and go to Rome.

Then—an emphatical monosyllable, just in that nick of time.

The Lord taketh me up—not immediately (miracles being ceased), but in and by the hands of Henry earl of Huntingdon [c] (his honourable kinsman) providing plentiful maintenance for him.

Often silenced and restored. 23. However, after he was entered in the ministry, he met with many molestations, as hereby doth appear.

i. Silenced by the high commission, 1590, in June.
ii. .... bishop Chaderton, 1605, April 24.
iii. .... bishop Neile, 1611, in November.
iv. .... the court at Leicest. 1630, March 25.

i. Restored by the high commission, 1591, in January.
ii. .... bishop Barlow, 1608, in January.
iii. .... Dr. Ridley [d], 1625, June 20.
iv. .... the same court, 1631, August 2.

And now methinks I hear the Spirit speaking unto him, as once to the prophet Ezekiel [e], *Thou shalt speak and be no more dumb*, singing now with the celestial quire of saints and angels. Indeed, though himself a nonconformist, he loved all honest men, were they of a different judgment, minded like Luther herein, who gave for his motto, *In quo aliquid Christi video, illum diligo.*

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[b] Psalm xxvii. 10.

[c] [Henry Hastings.]

[d] Vicar gen. to archbishop Abbot.

[e] Ezek. xxiv. 27.

His long and assiduous preaching.

24. He was minister of Ashby de la Zouch forty and three years. This putteth me in mind of Theodosius and of Valentinian, (two worthy Christian emperors,) their constitutions making those readers of the civil law counts of the first order, *cum ad viginti annos observatione jugi, ac sedulo docendi labore pervenerint* [f], "when with daily observation "and diligent labour of teaching they shall arrive at "twenty years." Surely the readers of God's law which double that time shall not lose their reward.

The death of Bolton.

25. The same year died Robert Bolton, born in Lancashire, bred in Brasennose College in Oxford, beneficed at Broughton in Northamptonshire. An authoritative preacher, who majestically became the pulpit, and whose life is exactly written at large [g], to which I refer such as desire further satisfaction [h]. And here may the reader be pleased to take notice, that henceforward we shall on just grounds forbear the description of such divines as yearly deceased. To say nothing of them save the dates of their deaths, will add little to the reader's information, to say much in praise or dispraise of them (wherein their relations are so nearly concerned) may add too

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[f] C. Theod. lib. 6. tit. 21.

[g] By my good friend Mr. Bagshaw.

[h] [See "Mr. Bolton's last "and learned work of the four "last things, Death, Judgment, "Hell, and Heaven. With his "Assize-sermons, and Notes on "Justice Nicolls his funeral. "Together with the Life and "Death of the Author. Published by E. B. &c." Lond. 1639. 4°. 4th ed.]

A.D. 1632. 8 Charles I. much to the writer's danger. Except therefore they be persons so eminent for their learning, or active for their lives, as their omission may make a maim in our history, we shall pass them over in silence hereafter.

Impropriation feoffees questioned. 26. Archbishop Laud began to look with a jealous eye on the feoffees for impropriations, as who in process of time would prove a thorn in the sides of episcopacy, and by their purchases become the prime patrons for number and greatness of benefices. This would multiply their dependants, and give a secret growth to nonconformity. Whereupon by the archbishop's procurement a bill was exhibited in the exchequer chamber, by Mr. Noy the attorney general, against the feoffees aforesaid, and that great lawyer endeavoured to overthrow (as one termed it) their apocrypha incorporation.

Their first accusation. 27. It was charged against them, first, that they diverted the charity, wherewith they were intrusted, to other uses[i], when erecting a lecture every morning at St. Antholine's in London[k]. What was this but lighting candles to the sun, London being already the land of Goshen, and none of those dark and far distant corners, where souls were ready to famish for lack of the food of the word? What was this but a bold breach of their trust, even in the eye of the kingdom?

And answer thereunto. 28. They answered that London being the chief staple of charity, and the place where the principal contributers to so pious a work did reside, it was but fit that it should share in the benefit of their bounty. That they were not so confined to the uses in their feoffment, but that in their choice they might reflect as well on the eminency as necessity of the place; that they expended much of their own (as well as other men's) money, and good reason they should do therewith as they pleased.

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[i] Being by their feoffment to erect them where preaching was wanting.

[k] [The stronghold of Puritanism.]

A second charge against them.

29. It was pressed against them, that they generally preferred nonconformists to the lectures of their erection. To this it was answered, that none were placed therein but such whose sufficiency and conformity were first examined and approved by the ordinary to be to such a degree as the law required. Yea it is said that Mr. White, one of the feoffees, privately proffered bishop Laud at his house in Fulham, that if he disliked either the persons who managed, or order which they took in this work, they would willingly submit the alteration to his lordship's discretion.

They are overthrown.

30. In conclusion the court condemned their proceedings, as dangerous to the church and state, pronouncing the gifts, feoffments, and contrivances made to the uses aforesaid to be illegal, and so dissolved the same, confiscating their money unto the king's use. Their criminal part was referred to, but never prosecuted in, the Star-chamber, because the design was generally approved, and both discreet and devout men were (as desirous of the regulation, so) doleful at the ruin of so pious a project[1].

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[1] [The appointment of feoffees had been one of the projects of abp. Laud; when St. Paul's was completely repaired, it was his intention "to move "his majesty for the like grant "from the high commission "for the bringing in of impro-"priations." (Diary, p. 69.) But these feoffees, as may be seen by the list of those who were the chief managers, (some of whom were afterwards leading members of the Assembly

The death of archbishop Harsnet.

31. Samuel Harsnet about this time ended his life, born in Colchester, bred scholar, fellow, master of Pembroke Hall in Cambridge, afterwards bishop of Chichester and Norwich, archbishop of York, and privy councillor. He was a zealous asserter of ceremonies, using to complain of (the first I believe who used the expression) *conformable puritans*, who practised it out of policy, yet dissented from it in their judgments. He lieth buried in Chigwell church in Essex, (where he built a school,) with this epitaph, *Indignus episcopus Cicestrensis, indignior Norvicensis, et indignissimus archiepiscopus Eboracensis* [m].

Bradborn his erroneous opinion.

32. Now the Sabbatarian controversy began to be revived, which brake forth into a long and hot contention. Theophilus Bradborn [n], a minister of Suf-

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of Divines), were, as Laud truly states of them, "main "instruments for the puritan "faction to undo the church" (Ib. p. 47.); and the erection of a daily lecture at S. Antholine's, always noted as a favourite place of resort for the party, as it was contrary to the principles of their incorporation, so does it afford a presumptive proof of their intentions to advance puritan principles.]

[m] [Composed by himself. See Godwin, Præsul. p. 713.]

[n] ["An old and zealous puritan, named Theophilus Brabourne, an obscure school-"master, or, as some say, a "minister of Suffolk, was very "stiff for a Sabbath, in his "books published 1628 and "31, and endeavoured to take "off all objections that might "be said against one; yet by "maintaining the indispensable "morality of the fourth commandment, and consequently "the necessary observation of "the Jewish sabbath, did in-"cline several of his readers to "Judaism. Thomas Broad, "who was esteemed an anti-"sabbatarian, did write almost "to the same effect that Brerewood did, though Brerewood's "first book did dissent from his "opinions in those points, op-"posed by George Abbot in his "*Vindiciæ Sabbathi*, wherein "are also surveyed all the rest "that then had lately written "on that subject concerning "the Sabbath: viz. Francis "White bishop of Ely, Pet. "Heylyn, D. D., and Christo-"pher Dowe, whose several "treatises on the said subject "he calls anti-sabbatarian." Wood's Athen. i. 391. Of

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folk, sounded the first trumpet to this fight, who some five years since, namely anno 1628, set forth a book, dedicated to his majesty, entitled, "A defence

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this man Dr. White gives the following account in the preface to his book on the Sabbath.

"A certain minister of Norfolk, where I myself of late years was bishop, published a tractate of the Sabbath; and proceeding after the rule of presbyterian principles, among which, this was principal: *That all religious observations and actions, and among the rest, the ordaining and keeping of holy days, must have a special warrant and commandment in holy scripture, otherwise the same is superstitious:* concluded from thence, by necessary inference, that the seventh day of every week, to wit, Saturday, having an express command in the Decalogue, by a precept simply and perpetually moral, (as the sabbatarians teach,) and the Sunday, or the Lord's day, being not commanded, either in the Law or in the Gospel, *the Saturday must be the Christian's weekly sabbath, and the Sunday ought to be a working day.*

"This man was exceeding confident in his way, and defied his puritan adversaries, and loaded them with much disgrace and contempt. Besides, he dedicates his book to the king's majesty himself; he implores his princely aid to set up his *old new sabbath;* he admonisheth the reverend bishops of the kingdom, and the temporal state likewise, to restore the fourth commandment of the Decalogue to his ancient possession; and professeth that he would rather suffer martyrdom than betray such a worthy cause, so firmly supported by the common principles of all our new men, who have in preaching or writing treated of the Sabbath.

"But while he was in this heat, crying in all places where he came, *Victoria, victoria,* he chanced to light upon an unkind accident: which was to be convented and called to an account before your grace" (that is, the archbishop) "and the honourable court of high commission.

"At his appearance your grace did not confute him *with fire and fagot, with halter, axe, and scourging,* (as a certain Hotspur, a libelling disciple of Thomas Cartwright's, traduceth the judges of that honourable court,) but according to the usual proceedings of your grace and of that court with delinquents, which are overtaken with error, in simplicity, there was yielded unto him a deliberate, patient, and full hearing, together with a satisfactory answer to all his main objections.

"The man perceiving that

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"of the most ancient and sacred ordinance of God, "The Sabbath day:" maintaining therein,

i. The fourth commandment simply and entirely moral.

ii. Christians, as well as Jews, obliged to the everlasting observation of that day.

iii. That the Lord's day is an ordinary working day, it being will-worship and superstition to make it a sabbath by virtue of the fourth commandment.

But whilst Mr. Bradborn was marching furiously, and crying *victoria* to himself, he fell into the ambush of the high commission, whose well tempered severity herein so prevailed upon him, that, submitting himself to a private conference, and perceiving the unsoundness of his own principles, he became a convert, conforming himself quietly to the Church of England.

Sabbatarian controversies revived.

33. Francis White, bishop (formerly of Norwich) then of Ely, was employed by his majesty to confute Mr. Bradborn his erroneous opinion. In the writing whereof some expressions fell from his pen, whereat many strict people (but far enough from Bradborn's conceit) took great distaste. Hereupon books begat

"the principles which the sabbatarian dogmatists had lent "him were not orthodoxal, and "that all which were present "at the hearing (of which "number there were some "honourable lords of his majesty's privy council, and "many other persons of quality) had approved the confutation of his error; the "man began to suspect that "the holy brethren, who had "lent him his principles, and "yet persecuted his conclusion, "might perhaps be deceived in "the first, as he had been in "the latter. And therefore "laying aside his former confidence, he submitted himself to a private conference, "which by God's blessing so "far prevailed with him, that "he became a convert, and "freely submitted himself to "the orthodoxal discipline of "the Church of England."]

books, and controversies on this subject were multiplied, reducible to five principal heads.

i. What is the fittest name to signify the day set apart for God's public service?

ii. When that day is to begin and end?

iii. Upon what authority the keeping thereof is bottomed?

iv. Whether or no the day is alterable?

v. Whether any recreations, and what kinds of them, be lawful on that day[o]?

And they are distinguishable into three several opinions:

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[o] [Upon these controversial writings Heylyn makes the following observations. "The argumentative and scholastical "part was referred to the right "learned Dr. White, then bishop of Ely, who had given "good proof of his ability in "polemical matters in several "books and disputations against "the papists. The practical "and historical, by Heylyn of "Westminster, who had gained "some reputation for his studies in the ancient writers by "asserting the history of St. "George, maliciously impugned by those of the Calvinian "party upon all occasions. "Both of them being enjoined "their tasks, were required to "be ready for the press against "Michaelmas term; at the end "whereof both books came "out: the bishop's under the "title of, *A Treatise of the Sabbath Day, containing a Defence "of the orthodoxal Doctrine of "the Church of England against "Sabbatarian Novelty.* The "other, called the *History of "the Sabbath,* was divided into "two books or parts; the first "whereof began with the creation of the world, and carried "on the story till the destruction of the temple. The "second beginning with our "Saviour Christ and his apostles, was drawn down to the "year 1633, when the publishing of this declaration was "required. The bishop's book "had not been extant any long "time, when an answer was "returned unto it by Byfield "of Surrey, which answer occasioned a reply, and that reply "begat a rejoinder. To Heylyn's book there was no "answer made at all." Life of Abp. Laud, p. 296. This treatise of Dr. Heylyn's was reprinted in the collection of his miscellaneous works, p. 316.]

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Sabbatarians.	*Moderate men.*	*Anti-sabbatarians.*
1. Are charged to affect the word Sabbath as a shibboleth in their writing, preaching, and discoursing, to distinguish the true Israelites from lisping Ephraimites, as a badge of more [pretended] purity. As for Sunday, some would not have it mentioned in Christian mouths, as resenting of Saxon idolatry, so called from, and dedicated to the sun, which they adored.	1. Sabbath (especially if Christian be premised) may inoffensively be used, as importing in the original only a rest. And it is strange that some who have a dearness, yea fondness, for some words of Jewish extraction (altar, temple, &c.) should have such an antipathy against the Sabbath. Sunday may not only safely be used without danger of paganism, but with increase of piety, if retaining the name, we alter the notion, and therewith the notion thereof, because on that day *the Sun of Righteousness did arise with healing in his wings* [p]. But the most proper name is the Lord's day, as ancient, used in the apostles' time [q]; and most expressive, being both an historian, and preacher. For the Lord's day, looking backward, mindeth us what the Lord did for us thereon, rising from the dead: and, looking forward, it monisheth us what we ought to do for him on the same, spending it to his glory, in the proper duties thereof.	1. The word Sabbath (as now used) containeth therein a secret magazine of Judaism, as if the affecters thereof by spiritual necromancy endeavoured the reviving of dead and rotten Mosaical ceremonies.
2. Some make the Sabbath to begin on Saturday night, (*the evening and the morning were the first day*,) and others on the next day in the morning, both agreeing on the extent thereof for four and twenty hours.	2. The question is not of so great concernment. For, in all circular motions, it matters not so much where one beginneth, so be it he continueth the same, until he return unto that point again. Either of the aforesaid computations of the day may be embraced. *Diesque quiesque redibit in orbem.*	2. They confine the observation of the day only to the few hours of public service.
3. They found it partly on the law and light of nature, deriving some countenances for the septenary number out of heathen authors: and partly on the fourth commandment, which they avouch equally moral with the rest.	3. In the Lord's day three things are considerable: 1. A day, founded on the light of nature; pure impure pagans destining whole days to their idolatrous service. 2. One day in seven, grounded on the moral equity of the fourth commandment, which is like the feet and toes of Nebuchadnezzar's image [r], *part of potter's clay, and part of iron.* The clay part, and ceremonial moiety of that commandment (viz. that seventh day, or Jewish Sabbath) is mouldered away, and buried in Christ's grave. The iron part thereof, viz. a mixture of morality therein, one day in seven, is perpetual and everlasting. 3. This seventh day (being indeed the eighth from the creation, but one of the seven in the week) is built on divine right in a larger sense, having an analogy in the Old, and insinuations in the New Testament, with the continued practice of the church.	3. These unhinge the day off from any divine right, and hang it merely on ecclesiastical authority first introducing it, as custom and consent of the church had since established it.

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[p] Mal. iv. 2.

[q] Revel. i. 10.

[r] Dan. ii. 41.

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Sabbatarians.	*Moderate men.*	*Anti-sabbatarians.*
4. The church, no not *ex plenitudine suæ potestatis*, may, or can, alter the same.	4. Would be right glad of the general agreement of the Christian church; but, withal, right sorry that the same should be abused for the alteration of the Lord's day. But, as there is but little hope of the former, so is there no fear of the latter, it being utterly unexpedient to attempt the altering thereof.	4. The universal consent of the Christian church may alter it. Yea, one saith[s], that the church of Geneva went about to translate it to Thursday, but, it seems, it was carried in the negative.
5. No exercises at all (walking excepted, with which strictness itself cannot be offended) are lawful on this day. Insomuch as some of them have been accused of turning the day of rest into the day of torture and self-maceration.	5. The Sabbath (in some sort) was lord (yea, tyrant) over the Jews; and they by their superstition contented vassals under it. Christ was *Lord of the Sabbath*[t], and struck out the teeth thereof. Indeed such recreations as are unlawful on any day, are most unlawful on that day; yea, recreations doubtful on other days, are to be forborne on that day, on the suspicion of unlawfulness. So are all those, which, by their over violence, put people past a praying capacity. Add also those, which, though acted after evening service, must needs be preacted by the fancy (such the volatility thereof) all the day before, distracting the mind, though the body be at church. These recreations forbidden, other innocent ones may be permitted.	5. Mixed dancings, masques, interludes, revels, &c. are by them permitted in the intervals betwixt, but generally after evening service ended.

A worthy doctor[u], who in his sermons at the temple no less piously than learnedly handled the point of the Lord's day, worthily pressed, that gentlefolk were obliged to a stricter observation of the Lord's day than labouring people. *The whole have no need of the physician, but those who are sick.* Such as are not annihilated with labour have no title to be recreated with liberty. Let servants, whose hands are ever working whilst their eyes are waking; let such who all the foregoing week have their cheeks moistened with sweat and hands hardened with labour; let such have some recreation on the Lord's day indulged unto them: whilst persons of quality, who may be said to keep sabbath all the week long, I mean, who rest from hard labour, are concerned in conscience to observe the Lord's day with the greater abstinence from recreations[x].

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[s] [Dr. John] Pocklington in his "Sunday no Sabbath," p. 9. [A sermon preached and printed in the year 1636.]

[t] Matth. xii. 8.

[u] Dr. Paul Micklethwaite.

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[x] [Of all the multitudinous writings on this fiercely disputed subject, Dr. White's work, entitled "A Treatise of "the Sabbath Day, containing "a Defence of the orthodoxal "Doctrine of the Church of "England against Sabbatarian "Novelty," is by far the most learned, as it is the most important. This work, which was dedicated to Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, and was undertaken by his desire and direction, may be considered as a fair exposition of their sentiments, who were undoubtedly the most learned and most catholic portion of the Church of England.

Like various other questions disputed during these times, this was no more than the legitimate fruit of that principle, so strenuously advocated by the opponents of church authority, that scripture alone, or rather every man's private interpretation of it, is the only warrant for any observances whether civil or ecclesiastical. Undervaluing all human learning, and rejecting from the first the testimony and tradition of the church; private judgment became their only standard by which they could test the truth, and all things stood or fell accordingly as they were found to tally with it. The same test which required the Jewish observance of the Sabbath, in aftertimes rejected infant baptism and set open the door to heresy in all its shapes; the same private judgment which exaggerated the holiness of the Sunday, and would have bound it on the necks of Christians with an iron yoke, soon set men above it altogether. The Jewish observance of the Sunday became the touchstone of a man's election; "To do any ser- "vile work or business on the "Lord's day, (says one of "them,) is as great a sin as to "kill a man or commit adul- "tery;"—"to make a feast on "the Lord's day (says another) "is as great a sin as for a fa- "ther to take a knife and cut "his child's throat," (Heylyn's Tracts, p. 490); so hard is it for men who forsake the truth in one point to keep it in another: or even when advocating that which is good and excellent in itself, if dislocated from that body of the truth once delivered to the saints, to avoid distorting its proportions and robbing it of its true life and spirituality. Thus these men in defending the perpetual morality of the fourth commandment, lost sight of those objects for which that commandment was given; taught men to dislike and hate the services of the church, the administration of her sacraments, the ordination of her

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Troubles begin in Somersetshire.

34. Pass we now from the pen to the practical part of the sabbatarian difference. Somersetshire was the stage whereon the first and fiercest scene thereof was acted. Here wakes (much different, I dare say, from the watching prescribed by our Saviour) were kept on the Lord's day, with church-ales, bid-ales, and clerks-ales. If the reader know not the critical meaning and difference of these words, I list not to be the interpreter; and his ignorance herein neither is any disgrace nor can be any damage unto him. The gentry of that county, perceiving such revels the cause of many and occasion of moe misdemeanours, (many acts of wantonness bearing their dates from such meetings,) importuned sir Thomas Richardson[y], lord chief justice, and baron

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ministers; quenched the devotion of the people towards God's service by persuading them that it was profane and superstitious; and outwardly, most earnest in demanding obedience to the letter of God's word, became, in fact, its greatest transgressors, the most disobedient to its spirit.

"Such (says even our own "author) who at the time of "the sabbatarian controversy "were the strictest observers "of the Lord's day, are now "reeled by their violence into "another extreme, to be the "greatest neglecters, yea, con-"temners thereof. These tran-"scendents, accounting them-"selves mounted above the "predicament of common piety, "aver they need not keep any, "because they keep all days "Lord's days in their elevated "holiness," &c. §. 44.]

[y] [This was "that jeering "judge," (of whom Evelyn speaks in his diary) who "un-"justly and spitefully molest-"ed" Evelyn's father, a man universally esteemed by all who knew him. Evelyn's Diary, ii. 10. So also G. Garrard, in a letter to lord Strafforde, speaking of the death of this judge and of sir Robert de Grice who died at the same time, observes, that both of them were "little "missed in the commonwealth. "Never (he continues) sat there "a judge in that court that was "less respected. He desired "to be buried in Westminster, "and was so poorly and mean-"ly attended only with hack-"ney coaches, and scarce a "judge, or any of his own pro-"fession, to attend him to his "grave; yet he hath left be-"hind him an estate better "than three thousand pounds

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Denham, then judges, riding the western circuit in the lent vacation, to make a severe order for the suppressing of all ales and revels on the Lord's day.

Judge Richardson's order against Lord's-day revels.

35. In compliance with their desire, the aforesaid judges made an order on the 19th day of March, (founded on former precedents signed by judge Popham, lord chief justice in the latter end of queen Elizabeth her reign,) therein suppressing such revels, in regard of the infinite number of inconveniences daily arising by means thereof, enjoining the constables to deliver a copy thereof to the minister of every parish, who, on the first Sunday in February, and likewise the two first Sundays before Easter, was to publish the same every year.

Which he would not revoke.

36. The archbishop of Canterbury beheld this as an usurpation on ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and complained of the judges to his majesty, procuring a commission to bishop Pierce and other divines to inquire into the manner of publishing this order, and the chief justice his carriage in this business. Notwithstanding all which, the next assize judge Richardson gave another strict charge against these revels, required an account of the publication and execution of the aforesaid order, punishing some persons for the breach thereof. After whose return from London, the archbishop sent for him, and commanded him to revoke his former order as he would answer the contrary at his peril, telling him it was his majesty's pleasure he should reverse it. The judge alleged it done at the request of the justices of the peace in the county, with the general consent of

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"a-year."—Strafforde's Letters, i. p. 373. This writer's testimony is the more remarkable as he was inclined to puritanism.]

the whole bench, on the view of ancient precedents in that kind. However, the next assize he revoked his order with this limitation, as much as in him lay[z]. At what time also the justices of the peace in Somersetshire (who in birth, brains, spirit, and estate, were inferior to no county in England) drew up an humble petition to his majesty, for the suppressing of the aforesaid unlawful assemblies[a], concurring with the lord chief justice therein, sending it up by the hand of the *custos rotulorum* to deliver it to the earl of Pembroke, lord lieutenant of their county, to present it to his majesty[b]. A. D. 1633. 9 Charles I.

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[z] [Rushworth, ib. 192.]

[a] [It might be supposed from Fuller's language that this was the act of the county in general. The same statement was made against the archbishop by Prynne; whereupon he says at his trial: "Mr. "Prynne says; *that all the "gentlemen in the country petitioned on the judge's behalf.* "No; there was a great faction "in Somersetshire at that time, "and sir Robert Philips and all "his party wrote up against the "judge and the order he made, "as was apparent by the certificates which he returned. And "sir Robert was well known "in his time to be neither "popish nor profane."—Troubles, p. 343. Afterwards they were made friends, as we learn from a letter of Garrard to the earl of Strafforde: "Sir Robert "Philips (he says) and the "chief justice Richardson have "been made friends of late, "before a committee of the "Lords. Their difference arose "in the country, at the assizes, "about these wakes and love-"feasts in the country, as they "call them; against which the "judge was very bitter in his "charge, many misdemeanors "being presented by the grand "inquest, which were done at "those meetings; and the like "did most of the judges on "their circuits. But now this "new declaration shuts their "mouths for the future. Sir "Robert Philips complains of "him to the king; his majesty "refers it to the archbishop, "lord keeper, lord treasurer, "and the earl marshal; they "hear them both, and thought "it fitter to reaccord them, than "to trouble the king further "about it."—Strafforde's Lett. i. p. 167.]

[b] [The truth of this matter will be better understood by the following letter which archbishop Laud wrote to the bishop of Bath and Wells on this occasion.

"There hath been of late

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The king's declaration.

37. Just in this juncture of time a declaration for sports, set forth the fifteenth of king James, was revived and enlarged[c]; for his majesty, being troubled with petitions on both sides, thought good to follow his father's royal example, upon the like occasion in Lancashire; and we refer the reader to what we have written before[d], for arguments

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" some noise in Somersetshire " about the feasts of the dedi" cations of churches, common" ly called wakes, and it seems " the judges of assize formerly " made an order to prohibit " them, and caused it to be " published in some or most of " the churches there by the " ministers, *without my lord the* " *bishop's consent* or privity. " The pretence of this hath " been, that some disorders de" rogatory from God's service " and the government of the " commonwealth are commit" ted at those times: by which " argument any thing that is " abused may quite be taken " away. It seems there hath " been some heat struck in the " country about this, by the " carriage of the lord chief jus" tice Richardson at the two " last assizes, especially the " last, with which his majesty " is not well pleased. And for " the preventing of outrages or " disorders at those feasts, no " man can be more careful than " his majesty; but he con" ceives, and that very rightly, " that all these may and ought " to be prevented by the care " of the justices of peace, and " leave the feasts themselves to " be kept for the neighbourly " meeting and recreation of the " people, of which he would " not have them debarred un" der any frivolous pretences. " And further, his majesty hath " been lately informed by men " of good place in that county, " that the humorists increase " much in these parts, and " unite themselves by banding " against the feasts.——Yet for " his better satisfaction, he hath " commanded me to require you " to inform yourself, and give " a speedy account how these " feasts have been ordered." See Rush. Coll. ii. p. 192.

To this subject the archbishop, again making reference at his trial, observes, " Under " your lordship's favour I am " still of opinion, that there is " no reason the feasts should " be taken away for some " abuses in them; and those " such as every justice of peace " is able by law to remedy, if " he will do his duty. Even " by this kind of proceeding, " we may go back to the old " cure, and remedy drunken" ness by rooting out all the " vines, the wine of whose " fruit causes it."—Troubles, p. 269.]

[c] [See king Charles's declaration in Wilkins' Concil. iv. p. 483.]

[d] See the 15th of king James.

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pro and *con* about the lawfulness of public reading thereof.

The archbishop excuseth himself.

38. It was charged at his trial on the archbishop of Canterbury, that he had caused the reviving and enlarging of this declaration, strong presumptions being urged for the proof thereof. He denied it, yet professing his judgment for recreations on that day, alleging the practice of the church of Geneva, allowing shooting in long bows, &c. thereon. Adding also, that though indulging liberty to others, in his own person he strictly observed that day. A self-praise, or rather self-purging, because spoken on his life, which seemed uttered without pride, and with truth, and was not clearly confuted. Indeed, they are the best carvers of liberty on that day, who cut most for others and leave least for themselves[e].

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[e] [The passage alluded to runs as follows:

"The fourth charge was the "publishing *The Book of Re-* "*creations:* and it was ushered "in with this scorn upon me, "*that I labored to put a badge* "*of holiness by my breath upon* "*places; and to take it away* "*from days.* But I did nei- "ther; the king commanded "the printing of it, as is therein "attested, and the warrant "which the king gave me they "have; and though at conse- "crations I read the prayers, "yet it was God's blessing, not "my breath, that gave the ho- "liness.

"And first it was said, *that* "*this was done of purpose to* "*take away preaching.* But "first, there is no proof offered "for this; and secondly, it is "impossible. For till the after- "noon service and sermon were "done, no recreation is allow- "ed by that book; nor then to "any but such as have been at "both: therefore it could not "be done to take it away. "Thirdly, the book names none "but lawful recreations, there- "fore if any unlawful be used, "the book gives them no war- "rant. And that some are "lawful (after the public ser- "vice of God is ended) appears "by the practice of Geneva, "where, after evening prayer, "the elder men bowl and the "younger train. And Calvin "says in express terms, that "one cause of the institution "of the Sabbath was, *that ser-* "*vants might have a day of* "*rest and remission from their* "*labour.* And what time of "the day fit, if not after even- "ing prayer? And what rest

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No injunction to the ministers.

39. However, there was no express in this declaration, that the minister of the parish should be pressed to the publishing. Many counted it no minister's work, and more proper for the place of the constable or tything-man to perform it. Must they, who were (if not worst able) most unfitting, hold the candle to lighten and let in licentiousness? But because the judges had enjoined the ministers to read their order in the church, the king's declaration was enforced by the bishops to be published by them in the same place.

Yet some silenced for refusal to read the book.

40. As for such whose consciences reluctated to publish the declaration, various were their evasions. Some left it to their curates to read. Nor was this the plucking out of a thorn from their own, to put it in another man's conscience, seeing their curates were persuaded of the lawfulness thereof. Others read it indeed themselves, but presently after read the fourth commandment. And was this fair play, setting God and their king (as they conceived) at odds, that so they themselves might escape in the fray? Others pointblank refused the reading thereof, for which some of them were suspended *ab officio et beneficio*, some deprived, and moe molested in the high commission: it being questionable, whether their sufferings procured more pity to them, or more hatred to the causers thereof.

" is there for able young men " if they may use no recreation? " Then it was urged, *that there* " *was great riot and disorder* " *at wakes kept on the Lord's* " *day*. That is a very sufficient " cause to regulate and order " those feasts, but not quite " to take them away. I make " no doubt for my part but that " the feast of the dedication " was abused by some among " the Jews; and yet Christ " was so far from taking it " away for that, as that he honoured it with his own pre- " sence."—Troubles, p. 343.]

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Moderation of some bishops therein.

41. All bishops urged not the reading of the book with rigour alike, nor punished the refusal with equal severity. I hear the loudest, longest, and thickest complaints come from the diocese of Norwich, and of Bath and Wells. I knew a bishop in the west, (to whom I stood related in kindred and service[f],)

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[f] [Most probably Dr. John Davenant, bishop of Salisbury, Fuller's uncle. Several letters of this bishop are still preserved in the Bodleian, written to different Cambridge friends in behalf of his nephew. Of the state of his diocese this year, archbishop Laud made the following report to the king:— "I found that the bishop had "taken a great deal of care "about your majesty's instructions; and, that they might "be the better both known "and obeyed, he hath caused "copies of them to be sent to "most of the ministers in his "diocese; which hath done a "great deal of good. And "though it be not amongst "your instructions, yet I am "bold to signify unto your "sacred majesty, that I find "the greatest part of Wiltshire "overgrown with the humors "of those men that do not "conform, and are as backward, both clergy and laity, "towards the repairs of St. "Paul's church, as any part "of England that I have observed."

The archbishop further adds, "Concerning Bath and Wells," (then governed by Dr. Pierce, who was afterwards fiercely persecuted by the parliament,) "I must needs return to your "majesty that which I would "to God I could do of all the "rest, namely, that all your "instructions are punctually "observed; and the lectures "(as many as are in that diocese) read not by any particular factious persons, but "by a company of learned "neighbouring ministers, which "are every way conformable to "the church."—Diary, p. 531.

Much the same testimony is given of Norwich, only that there the bishop found great trouble in carrying out the archbishop's injunctions, owing to the hostility of the puritan clergy, who were in great numbers in that diocese.

During the time that Davenant was bishop of Salisbury, Henry Sherfield, the recorder, wantonly destroyed the "fair "and costly glass window in "the church of St. Edmund's, "containing the history of the "creation of the world, (painted in seven compartments); "which had stood there for "hundreds of years, and was "a great ornament to the "church." When he was called to his answer, among other things, he justified himself, "upon the doctrine of his "learned diocesan, the now "lord bishop of Sarum, in his "Exposition on the Epistle to "the Colossians, p. 97 and 98." —See Rushworth, ii. p. 155.]

who, being pressed by some to return the names of such as refused to read the book, to the archbishop of Canterbury, utterly denied; and his words to me were these: "I will never turn an accuser of "my brethren, there be enough in the world to take "that office." As for the archbishop of Canterbury, much was his moderation in his own diocese, silencing but three (in whom also a concurrence of other nonconformities) through the whole extent thereof. But oh, the necessity of the general day of judgment, wherein all men's actions shall be expounded according to their intentions, which here are interpretable according to other men's inclinations! The archbishop's adversaries imputed this, not to his charity, but policy; fox-like, preying farthest from his own den, and instigating other bishops to do more than he would appear in himself. As for his own visitation articles, some complained they were but narrow as they were made, and broad as they were measured; his under officers improving and enforcing the same, by their inquiries, beyond the letter thereof.

Licentiousness increaseth.

42. Many complain that man's badness took occasion to be worse, under the protection of these sports permitted unto them. For although liberty on the Lord's day may be so limited in the notions of learned men, as to make it lawful, it is difficult (if not impossible) so to confine it in the actions of lewd people, but that their liberty will degenerate into licentiousness.

Conceived by some a concurring cause of our civil wars.

43. Many moderate men are of opinion, that this abuse of the Lord's day was a principal procurer of God's anger, since poured out on this land, in a long and bloody civil war. Such observe, that

our fights of chief concernment were often fought on the Lord's day, as pointing at the punishing of the profanation thereof. Indeed, amongst so many battles which in ten years' time have rent the bowels of England, some on necessity would fall on that day, (seeing we have be-rubrick'd each day in the week, almost in the year, with English blood,) and therefore to pick a solemn providence out of a common casualty savours more of curiosity than conscience. Yet, seeing Edge Hill fight (which first brake the peace, and made an irreconcilable breach betwixt the two parties) was fought on that day, and some battles since of greatest consequence, there may be more in the observation than what many are willing to acknowledge. But whatsoever it is which hence may be collected, sure I am those are the best Christians who least censure others and most reform themselves.

A sad alteration.

44. But here it is much to be lamented, that such who at the time of the sabbatarian controversy were the strictest observers of the Lord's day, are now reeled by their violence into another extreme, to be the greatest neglecters, yea, contemners thereof. These transcendents, accounting themselves mounted above the predicament of common piety, aver they need not keep any, because they keep all Lord's days in their elevated holiness. But alas! Christian duties said to be ever done will prove never done, if not sometimes solemnly done. These are the most dangerous levellers, equalling all times, places, and persons, making a general confusion to be gospel perfection; whereas, to speak plainly, we in England are *rebus sic stantibus*, concerned now more strictly to observe the Lord's day than ever

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before. Holy days are not, and holy eves are not, and Wednesday and Friday litanies are not, and Lord's day eves are not, and now some (out of error, and others out of profaneness) go about to take away the Lord's day also; all these things make against God's solemn and public service. Oh, let not his public worship, now contracted to fewer channels, have also a shallower stream. But enough of this subject; wherein, if I have exceeded the bounds of an historian by being too large therein, such will pardon me, who know (if pleasing to remember) that divinity is my proper profession [g].

Irish impropriations restored.

45. At this time miserable the maintenance of the Irish clergy, where scandalous means made scandalous ministers. And yet a popish priest would grow fat in that parish where a protestant would be famished, as have not their livelihood on the oblations of those of their own religion. But now such impropriations as were in the crown, by the king were restored to the church, to a great diminution of the royal revenue, though his majesty never was sensible of any loss to himself, if thereby gain might redound to God in his ministers. Bishop Laud was a worthy instrument in moving the king to so pious a work, and yet this his procuring the restoring of Irish did not satisfy such discontented at his obstructing the buying in of English impropriations: thus those conceived to have done hurt at home

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[g] [This is a very remarkable passage, and the best comment on the effects which the excesses of the different religious factions had produced. The cautious manner in which our author speaks sufficiently warrants the truth of his assertion. That he did not speak out all that he thought of the character and proceedings of the puritan party, we might gather from this passage; but he has himself further assured us of it in his "Appeal of Injured Innocence."]

will hardly make reparations with other good deeds at distance.

The Thirty-nine Articles received in Ireland.

46. A convocation (concurrent with a parliament) was called and kept at Dublin in Ireland, wherein the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England were received in Ireland for all to subscribe unto. It was adjudged fit, seeing that kingdom complies with England in the civil government, it should also conform thereto in matters of religion. Meantime the Irish Articles[h] concluded formerly in a synod 1613 (wherein Arminianism was condemned *in terminis terminantibus*, and the observation of the Lord's day resolved *jure divino*) were utterly excluded[i].

Bishop Laud refuseth a cardinal's cap.

47. A cardinal's cap once and again offered by the pope to bishop Laud, was as often refused by him. The fashion thereof could not fit his head, who had studied and written so much against the Romish religion. He who formerly had foiled the Fisher himself in a public disputation, would not now be taken with so silly a bait, but acquainted the king therewith: *timuit Romam vel dona ferentem*, refusing to receive anything from Rome till she was better reformed[k].

Bishop Juxon made lord treasurer.

48. Dr. William Juxon, bishop of London, was by bishop Laud's procurement made lord treasurer

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[h] [These articles were drawn up by Usher, and he inserted them among the celebrated Lambeth Articles.]

[i] [See the "Constitutions "and Canons ecclesiastical "treated upon by the Arch-"bishops and Bishops and the "rest of the Clergy of Ireland; "and agreed upon by the "King's Majesty's License in "their Synod begun and holden "at Dublin, A. D. 1634." Printed in Wilkins' Concil. iv. p. 496. See Cox's Hist. of Ireland, ii. 55, and a letter addressed by the earl of Strafford to archbishop Laud in his Letters and Dispatches, i. 342.]

[k] [See his Diary, p. 49.]

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of England, entering on that office with many and great disadvantages. First, because no clergyman had executed the same since William Grey, bishop of Ely, almost two hundred years ago, in the reign of king Edward the Fourth. Secondly, because the treasury was very poor, and if in private houses bare walls make giddy housewives, in princes' palaces empty coffers make unsteady statesmen. Thirdly, because a very potent (I cannot say competitor, the bishop himself being never a petitor for the place, but) desirer of this office was frustrated in his (almost assured) expectation of the same to himself[1].

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[1] [This promotion of Juxon gave great offence to the nobility, who looked upon this office as a prize for one of themselves, particularly since the bishop was a man entirely unknown till this time. As lord Clarendon observes: "This "inflamed more men than were "angry before, and no doubt "did not only sharpen the "edge of envy and malice "against the archbishop, (who "was the known architect of "this new fabric,) but most "injustly undisposed many to-"wards the church itself; which "they looked upon as the gulf "ready to swallow all the great "offices, there being others in "view of that robe, who were "ambitious enough to expect "the rest." Rebel. i. 175. Perhaps the historian refers more particularly to the known dissension which happened at this time between Laud and his former friends Wardebank and Cottington. See Laud's Diary, p. 51. Strafforde's Lett. i. 449, 479. Mr. Garrard in a letter to the earl of Strafforde observes upon this appointment: "The clergy are so high here "since the joining of the white "sleeves with the white staff, "that there is much talk of "having a secretary a bishop, "Dr. Wren, bishop of Norwich, "and a chancellor of the ex-"chequer, Dr. Bancroft, bishop "of Oxford; but this comes "only from the young fry of "the clergy, little credit is "given to it, but it is observed "they swarm mightily about "the court." Strafforde's Letters, ii. 2. Sanderson tells us that one of the great motives which induced the king to desire the promotion of the dignified clergy to such posts was economy, they having no families to provide for, and therefore more frugal, as undoubtedly more honest, dispensers of the king's revenues. A remark which I do not remember to have been made elsewhere.]

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His commendable carriage.

49. Howsoever, so discreet his carriage in that place, it procured a general love unto him, and politic malice, despairing to bite, resolved not to bark at him. He had a perfect command of his passion, (an happiness not granted to all clergymen in that age, though privy counsellors[m],) slow, not of speech as a defect, but to speak, out of discretion, because when speaking he plentifully payed the principal and interest of his auditors' expectation. No hands, having so much money passing through them, had their fingers less soiled therewith. It is probable his frugality would have cured the consumption of the king's exchequer, had not the (unexpected) Scotch commotion put it into a desperate relapse. In this particular he was happy above others of his order, that whereas they may be said in some sort to have left their bishoprics, (flying into the king's quarters for safety,) he staid at home

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[m] [He glances at Laud, who was somewhat warm and hasty: "He had indeed," says Heylin, "no such command upon his "passions as to be at all times "of equal temper; especially "when wearied with the business of the council table and "the high commission. But as "he was soon hot, so was he "soon cooled. And so much," he continues, "is observed by "sir Edward Deering, though "his greatest adversary, and "the first that threw dirt in his "face in the late long parliament; who telleth us of him, "that *the roughness of his un-* "*courtly nature sent most men* "*discontented from him, but so* "*that he would often of himself* "*find ways and means to* "*sweeten many of them again* "*when they least looked for it.*" Examen Historicum, p. 218.

An admirable anecdote is preserved by lord Clarendon in the History of his own Life, which shews how sensible Laud was of this constitutional infirmity, and how ready to make reparation when he had given offence. The manner in which he received Mr. Hyde's expostulation, then but a very young man, is very creditable to the archbishop's moderation and temper, and must give every unprejudiced reader a very high opinion of the excellence of his disposition and the greatness of his moral courage. See the Life of Clarendon, i. 70.]

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till his bishopric left him, roused from his swan's nest at Fulham for a bird of another feather to build therein.

Archbishop Laud presses conformity.

50. Dr. Laud, formerly archbishop in power, now so in place, after the decease of bishop Abbot, this year kept his metropolitical visitation, and henceforward conformity was more vigorously pressed than before. Insomuch that a minister was censured in the high commission for this expression in a sermon, "That it was suspicious that now the "night did approach, because the shadows were so "much longer than the body, and ceremonies more "in force than the power of godliness." And now many differences about divine worship began to arise, whereof many books were written *pro* and *con.* So common in all hands, that my pains may be well spared in rendering a particular account of what is so universally known. So that a word or two will suffice [n].

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[n] [And yet it is said in "The "Appeal" &c. p. iii. p. 8, that Laud's articles of visitation were observed to be so moderate that "there was a design "of the thirty-six dissenters ".... in the convocation to "obtain that these articles of "his visitation might be pre-"cedential to all the bishops "in England, as being in them-"selves inoffensive, and con-"taining no innovations. This "was by some communicated "to archbishop Laud, who at "first seemed to approve "thereof, and how it came "afterwards to miscarry I am "not bound to discover." To this the archbishop alludes in his trial: "My articles gave so "good content, that while the "convocation was sitting, Dr. "Brownrigg and Dr. Holds-"worth came to me, and de-"sired me to have my book "confirmed in convocation, to "be general for all bishops in "future, it was so moderate "and according to law. *But* "*why then* (say they) *were* "*other articles thought on, and* "*a clause that none should pass* "*without the approbation of* "*the archbishop?* Why: other "were thought on, because I "could not in modesty press "the confirmation of my own "though solicited to it." Trial, 345.]

Our churches succeed not to the temple, but synagogues.

51. One controversy was about the holiness of our churches, some maintaining that they succeed to the same degree of sanctity with the tabernacle of Moses and temple of Solomon, which others flatly denied. First, because the tabernacle and temple were and might be but one at a time, whilst our churches, without fault, may be multiplied without any (set) number. They both for their fashion, fabric, and utensils, were *jure divino*, their architects being inspired, whilst our churches are the product of human fancy. Thirdly, God gloriously appeared both in the tabernacle and temple, only graciously present in our churches. Fourthly, the temple was a type of Christ's body, which ours are not. More true it is, our churches are heirs to the holiness of the Jewish synagogues, which were many, and to whom a reverence was due, as publicly destined to divine service.

Adoration towards the altar.

52. Not less the difference about the manner of adoration to be used in God's house, which some would have done towards the communion table, as the most remarkable place of God's presence. Those used a distinction between bowing *ad altare* towards the altar, as directing their adoration that way, and *ad altare* to the altar, as terminating their worship therein; the latter they detested as idolatrous, the former they defended as lawful and necessary; such a slovenly[o] unmannerliness had lately possessed many people in their approaches to God's house that it was high time to reform.

Disliked by many.

53. But such as disliked the gesture, could not or would not understand the distinction, as in the suburbs of superstition. These allowing some cor-

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[o] Mal. i. 7.

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54. A controversy was also started about the posture of the Lord's board, communion table, or altar, the last name beginning now in many men's mouths to out the two former. Some would have it constantly fixed with the sides east and west, ends north and south, on a graduated advance next the east wall of the chancel, citing a canon and the practice in the king's chapel for the same. Others pressed the queen's injunctions that (allowing it at other times to stand, but not altarwise in the chancel) it ought to be set in the body of the church when the sacrament is celebrated thereon[p].

[p] [“ The question was, whe- “ ther it ought to stand in the “ middle of the church or “ chancel, with one end toward “ the east great window, like “ a common table, or close up “ to the eastern wall, with ends “ north and south, according “ as the altars had been placed “ in the former times. They “ that maintained the last opin- “ ion had authority for it; that “ is to say, the injunctions of “ the queen, anno 1599, the “ orders and advertisements of “ the year 1562 and 1565, the “ constant practice of the cha- “ pels in his majesty's houses, “ most of the cathedrals, “ and some of the parochial

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55. Such the heat about this altar till both sides had almost sacrificed up their mutual charity thereon, and this controversy was prosecuted with much needless animosity. This mindeth me of a passage in Cambridge, when king James was there present,

"churches: and, finally, a declaration of the king, anno "1633, commending a conformity in the parish churches "to their own cathedrals. They "on the other side stood chiefly "upon discontinuance, but "urged withal, that some rubrics in the Common Prayer "Book seemed to make for "them." Examen Hist. p. 215. The chief writers in this controversy were archbishop, then bishop, Williams, in a short tract entitled, "A Letter to the "Vicar of Grantham against "the Communion-table standing altar-ways;" first printed in 1627, (Hacket's Life of Williams, ii. p. 100,) but revived at this time, and reprinted by Dr. Heylyn at the end of his tract, "A Coal from the Altar, "or an Answer to a Letter not "long since written to the "Vicar of Gr. against the "placing of the Communion-"table at the East end of the "Chancel; and now of late "dispersed abroad to the Disturbance of the Church. Lond. "1636." To this the archbishop replied in a pamphlet entitled, "The Holy Table, "Name and Thing, more anciently, properly, and literally used in the New Testament than that of an Altar: "written long ago by a minister in Lincolnshire, in answer "to Dr. Coal; a judicious divine of queen Mary's days. "Printed for the diocese of "Lincoln. 1637." This was immediately answered by Dr. Heylyn in his Antidotum Lincolniense printed the same year. In Bp. Hacket's Life of Williams, besides an account of this controversy, will be found a copious abstract and defence of Williams' writings in defence of his views, part ii. p. 99, and for the other side of the question see Heylyn's Life of Laud, pp. 285, 314.

Besides these, Dr. Heylyn's views were supported by Dr. John Pocklington, in a tract called, "Altare Christianum, "or the dead Vicar's Plea. "Lond. 1637." By the learned Joseph Mede, in a pamphlet which he put forth the same year, "The Name Altar anciently given to the Holy "Altar. Lond. 1637." Afterwards the same controversy was continued by R. Day, in his "Two Looks over Lincoln. "1641." By Shelford, Reeve, and others, to whom the notorious Prynne replied in his tract called, "A quench Coal; "or a brief Disquisition and "Inquiry in what place of the "Church or Chancel the Lord's "Table ought to be situated, "&c. Lond. 1637."]

to whom a great person complained of the inverted situation of a college chapel, north and south, out of design to put the house to the cost of new building the same. To whom the king answered, "It "matters not how the chapel stands, so their hearts "who go thither be set aright in God's service." Indeed if moderate men had had the managing of these matters, the accommodation had been easy, with a little condescension on both sides. But as a small accidental heat or cold (such as a healthful body would not be sensible of) is enough to put him into a fit who was formerly in *latitudine febris*, so men's minds, distempered in this age with what I may call a mutinous tendency, were exasperated with such small occasions which otherwise might have been passed over, and no notice taken thereof.

Mr. William Prynne.

56. For now came the censure of Mr. Prynne, Dr. Bastwick, and Mr. Burton; and we must go a little backwards to take notice of the nature of their offences. Mr. William Prynne born (about Bath) in Gloucestershire, bred some time in Oxford, afterwards utter-barister of Lincoln's Inn, began with the writing of some useful and orthodox books[q]. I have heard some of his detractors account him as only the hand of a better head, setting forth at first the endeavours of others. Afterwards he delighted more to be numerous with many than ponderous with select quotations, which maketh his books to swell, with the loss ofttimes of the reader, sometimes of the printer, and his pen generally querulous hath more of the plaintiff than of the defendant therein[r].

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[q] The Perpetuity of the Regenerate Man his Estate.

[r] [An admirable account of Prynne, who was a student in

57. Some three years since he set forth a book called *Histriomastix*, or the Whip of Stage-players. A whip so held and used by his hand, that some conceived the lashes thereof flew into the face of the queen herself, as much delighted in masques. For which he was severely censured to lose his ears on the pillory, and for a long time (after two removals to the fleet) imprisoned in the tower. Where he wrote, and whence he dispersed new pamphlets, which were interpreted to be libels against the established discipline of the Church of England, for which he was indited in the Star-chamber.

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Accused for libelling against the bishops.

58. Dr. John Bastwick (by vulgar error generally mistaken to be a Scotchman) was born at Writtle in Essex, bred a short time in Emmanuel College, then travelled nine years beyond the seas, made Dr. of physic at Padua. Returning home he practised it at Colchester, and set forth a book in Latin (wherein his pen commanded a pure and fluent style) entitled, *Flagellum pontificis, et episcoporum Latialium*[a]. But it seems he confined not his character so to the Latian bishops beyond the Alps, but that our English prelates counted themselves touched therein. Hereupon he was accused in the high commission, committed to the gate-house, where he wrote a second book, taxing the injustice of the proceedings of the high commission, for which he was indited in the Star-chamber.

Dr. Bastwick his accusation.

59. Mr. Henry Burton, minister, rather took a snap than made a meal in any university; was first

Mr. Burton his character.

Oriel College in Oxford, will be found in Wood's Athen. ii. 434.]

[a] [A tolerable specimen of this purity will be found in his letter to "Mr. Aquila "Wycks, Keeper of the Gate "House," in Nalson's Coll. i. 500. Our honest historian is laughing in his sleeve.]

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schoolmaster to the sons of the lord Cary (afterwards earl of Monmouth), whose lady was governess to king Charles when prince[t]. And this opportunity (say some), more than his own deserts, preferred him to the service of prince Charles, being designed (as I have heard) to wait on him in Spain, but afterwards (when part of his goods were shipped for the voyage) excluded the attendance. Whether because his parts and learning were conceived not such as to credit our English church in foreign countries, or because his principles were accounted uncomplying with that employment.

The cause of his discontent.

60. The crudity of this affront lay long on his mind, hot stomachs (contrary to corporal concoction) being in this kind the slowest of digestion. After the venting of many mediate discontents, on the last fifth of November he took for his text Prov. xxiv. 21, *My son, fear thou the Lord and the king: and meddle not with them that are given to change.* This sermon was afterwards printed, charging the prelates for introducing of several innovations into divine worship, for which, as a libel, he was indited in the Star-chamber.

Their fault general.

61. But the fault general, which at this day was charged on these three prisoners at the bar in the Star-chamber, was this: That they had not put in

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[t] [But according to his own account he resided long enough in St. John's College, in the university of Cambridge, to take his degree of M. A. He was at first "sole officer of the "closet," as he styles it, to prince Henry, (according to Sanderson, "clerk of the cha-"pel-closet,") and after his death to prince Charles. See a curious tract entitled, "A Nar-"rative of the Life of Mr. "Henry Burton, wherein is "set forth the various and re-"markable passages thereof. "Now published, according "to a copy written with his "own hand. Lond. 1643." At the time of his writing this book he was certainly mad.]

their effectual answer into that court wherein they were accused, though sufficient notice and competent time was allowed them for the performance thereof. The lord keeper Coventry minded them, that for such neglect they had a precedent, wherein the court after six days had taken a cause *pro confesso*, whereas the favour of six weeks was allowed unto them, and now leave given them to render reason why the court should not proceed to present censure [u].

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[u] [The official account of the trial of these men will be found in Rushworth, ii. 380; their own report is contained in a tract reprinted in the Harleian Miscellany, entitled, "A brief "Relation of certain special "and most material Passages "and Speeches in the Star-"chamber, occasioned and de-"livered June 14th, 1637, at "the censure of those three "worthy gentlemen, Dr. Bast-"wick, Mr. Burton, and Mr. "Prynne, as it hath been truly "and faithfully gathered from "their own mouths, by one "present at the said censure." Fuller's narrative is abridged from this tract. As to the justice of their censure, they were scarcely punished above their deserts, but as to the expediency of their being thus made an example to others, this is another question. As far as Laud himself was concerned, he neither proposed nor assisted at the sentence; and of this charge even his bitterest enemies have acquitted him. The reasons for this forbearance he has stated himself, concluding his celebrated speech in the Star-chamber with these words: "But because the busi-"ness hath some reflection "upon myself, I shall forbear "to censure them, and leave "them to God's mercy and "the king's justice."

In his trial, the archbishop thus tells us what share he took in the proceedings against these men, and the malice and the fury with which he was persecuted by them and their faction:

"In the giving of this sen-"tence," he says, "I spake my "conscience; and was after "commanded to print my "speech. But I gave no vote; "because they had fallen so "personally upon me, that I "doubted many men might "think spleen, and not justice, "led me to it. Nor was it my "counsel that advised their "sending into those remote "parts. The Brownists and "the preciser part of the king-"dom were nettled at this; "and the anger turned upon "me, though I were the pa-"tient all along. For they "had published most enor-"mous libels against me; and "I did but shew such as came

A.D. [illegible] [illegible]

Mr. Prynne [illegible]

62. Herein Mr. Prynne first moved that they would be pleased to accept a cross bill (which he there tendered) against the prelates. This the lord keeper refused to accept of at the present, as not being the business of the day. Then he moved that the prelates might be dismissed the court: it being agreeable neither to nature, reason, nor justice, that those who were their adversaries should be their judges. This also was rejected by the lord keeper, because by the same proportion, had he libelled against the temporal lords, judges, and privy counsellors in the place, by this plea none should pass censure upon them, because all were made parties.

And his answer refused.

63. Mr. Prynne proceeded to shew he had done his endeavour to prepare his answer, being hindered first by his close imprisonment, denied pen, ink, and paper: and by the imprisonment also of his servant, who was to solicit his business. That the council assigned him came very late, and though twice payed for their pains deferred the drawing up of

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"to my hands to the state, "and there left them to do "what they pleased in it. But "that for which they were "sentenced, was a book written "by Mr. Burton, and printed "and sent by himself to the "lords sitting in council: and "a litany and other scandalous "things scattered and avowed "by Dr. Bastwick; and things "of like nature by Mr. Prynne. "And he was thought to de-"serve less favour than the "rest, because he had been "censured before in that great "court, for gross abuses of the "queen's gracious majesty and "the government, in his book "entitled *Histriomastix*.

"This censure being passed "upon these men, though I "did no more than is before "mentioned, yet they and that "faction continued all manner "of malice against me: and I "had libel upon libel scattered "in the streets and pasted "upon posts. And upon Fri-"day, July 7, 1637, a note "was brought to me of a short "libel pasted on the cross in "Cheapside, that the arch-wolf "of Canterbury had his hand "in persecuting the saints and "shedding the blood of the "martyrs." Troubles and Trials, p. 144.]

his answer, and durst not set their hands unto it. Mr. Hole, one of his council, being present, confessed that he found his answer would be very long, and of such a nature as he durst not subscribe it, fearing to give their lordships distaste.

So is Dr. Bastwick's.

64. Dr. Bastwick being spoken to, to speak for himself, why he brought not in his answer before, laid the blame on the cowardice of his counsel, that durst not sign it for fear of the prelates. He there tendered his answer on oath with his own hand, which would not be accepted. He spake much of his own abilities, that he had been a soldier able to lead an army of men into the field, and now was a physician able to cure kings, princes, and emperors; and therefore how unworthy it was to curtailize his ears, generally given out by the bishops' servants as a punishment intended unto him. He minded them of the mutability of all earthly things, and chiefly of the changes in the court; where he[x], lately the chief judge therein, was the next day to have his own cause censured: wishing them seriously to consider, that some who now sat there on the bench, might stand prisoners at the bar another day, and need the favour which now they denied.

Mr. Burton's cast out for imperfect.

65. Mr. Burton being asked what he could allege why the court should not take his fault *pro confesso*, pleaded that he had put in his answer, drawn up with great pains and cost, signed by his council, and received into the court. The lord keeper rejoined, that the judges had cast his answer out as imperfect. Judge Finch affirming that they did him a good turn in making it imperfect, being otherwise as libellous as his book, and deserving a censure alone.

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[x] The bishop of Lincoln.

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The severe censure.

66. Here the prisoners desiring to speak were commanded silence, and the premises notwithstanding, the court proceeded to censure: namely, that they should lose their ears in the palace yard at Westminster, fining them also five thousand pounds a man to his majesty, and perpetual imprisonment in three remote places. The lord Finch added to Mr. Prynne's censure, that he should be branded in each cheek with S. L. for slanderous libeller, to which the whole court agreed. The archbishop of Canterbury made a long speech, since printed, to excuse himself from the introducing of any innovations in the church, concluding it, that he left the prisoners to God's mercy and the king's justice[y].

Esteemed too low by some.

67. It will be lawful and safe to report the discourse of several persons hereon. This censure fell out scarce adequate to any judgment, as conceiving it either too low or too high for their offence. High conformists counted it too low, and that it had been better if the pillory had been changed into a gallows. They esteemed it improvident (but by their leaves more of Machiavel than of Christ in such counsel) to kindle revenge, and not to quench life in such turbulent spirits. The only way with them, had been to rid them out of the way.

Too high by most.

68. Most moderate men thought the censure too sharp, too base and ignominious for gentlemen of their ingenuous vocation. Besides, though it be easy in the notion, it is hard in the action to fix shame on the professors, and sever it from the professions of divinity, law, and physic[z]. As for the

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[y] [Printed in Rushworth, vol. iii. App. p. 116.]

[z] [This remark is very just, and is borne out by the observation of lord Clarendon. For although these men were very

former, though Burton was first degraded[a], yet such who maintain an indelible character of priesthood

contemptible, and none of them either esteemed or regarded by the worthy part of their several professions, "yet when they "were all sentenced, and for "the execution of that sentence brought out to be "punished as common and "signal rogues, exposed upon "scaffolds to have their ears "cut off, and their faces and "foreheads branded with hot "irons, (as the poorest and "most mechanic malefactor "used to be, when they were "not able to redeem them-"selves by any fine for their "trespasses, or to satisfy any "damages for the scandals they "had raised against the good "name and reputation of "others,) men began no more "to consider their manners "but the men; and each pro-"fession, with anger and in-"dignation enough, thought "their education, and degrees, "and quality, would have se-"cured them from such in-"famous judgment, and trea-"sured up wrath for the time "to come." Rebell. i. 167.

It must always indeed be a matter of regret, that the archbishop permitted his name to be mixed up so much with proceedings of this kind; and that having a work truly mighty and important to perform, he should have increased the obstacles already sufficiently numerous, and wasted his energies on things unworthy of him. It might be hard for one of his temperament to refrain; his very attachment to king Charles, more like the warm and ardent affection of a friend, than the dutiful loyalty of a subject, may have often urged him, naturally warm and impetuous, to take part with royalty; and to be forward in punishing those who insulted it, as though this had been part of his own sacred cause. Still harder was it, for one serving such a king as Charles I, and that one a bishop, not to espouse his cause with unflinching energy and devotion; and to bring to its support his influence, not merely as a subject and as a Christian, but as the head and representative of the Church of England. In this respect the archbishop's conduct was imitated by many other prelates; so that men could not distinguish between the church and the state, nor separate from the church those abuses which were committed by a worthless aristocracy, who cared only so far for the church as the representative of a political party. So all the severities of the Star and Council chamber came to be charged upon the church; men's hearts (always ready to revolt against excessive punishments, even when in some degree deserved) were alienated from her; in the redress of political grievances, or defence of political rights, they regarded her as their adversary, because those who chiefly represented her, if not of the number of the in-

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hold that degradation cannot delete what ordination hath impressed; and grant the censure pronounced *ad terrorem*, it might have become the bishops to mediate for a mitigation thereof. Let canvass be rough and rugged, lawn ought to be soft and smooth. Meekness, mildness, and mercy being more proper for men of the episcopal function.

Mr. Burton his words on the pillory.

69. Two days after, three pillories were set up in the palace yard, or one double one, and a single one at some distance, for Mr. Prynne as the chief offender. Mr. Burton first suffered, making a long speech in the pillory, not entire and continued, but interrupted with occasional expressions. But the main intent thereof was to parallel his sufferings with our Saviour's. For at the first sight of the pillory, "Methinks," said he, "I see mount Calvary, "whereon the three crosses were erected. If Christ "was numbered amongst thieves, shall a Christian "think much for his sake to be numbered amongst "rogues?" And whereas one told an halberdeer standing by, who had an old rusty halbert, (the iron

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jurers, had been found and mixed up far too much with them. The fate of Laud, the fate of the Marian bishops, both of whom were made responsible for cruelties which they both abhorred, must ever be a warning unto churchmen against taking an active part in state affairs, and mixing too much in courts. It is true that bishops and clergy were equally found in courts, perhaps far more so, before the reformation than afterwards; but in the first case (happily for the church and its influence among the people) it was in opposition to the despotic measures both of the nobility and the crown; but in Laud's time things had changed, and with it the position of the clergy. Honesty, loyalty, and affection, may have induced him to espouse the part which he did, and to support without discrimination the measures of the court throughout his life; it might have been right, it might have been necessary, but it was not the less unfortunate that it should have been so.]

[a] By sir John Lamb in the high commission in St. Paul's.

whereof was tacked to the staff with an old crooked nail,) "What an old rusty weapon is this!" Mr. Burton overhearing them answered: "It seems to be "one of those halberts which accompanied Judas "when Christ was betrayed and apprehended."

Several censures on his behaviour.

70. His ears were cut off very close, so that the temporal or head artery being cut, the blood in abundance streamed down upon the scaffold, all which he manfully endured, without manifesting the least shrinking thereat. Indeed of such who measured his mind by his words, some conceived his carriage far above: others (though using the same scale) suspected the same to be somewhat beside himself. But let such who desire more of his character, consult with his printed life, written with his own hand, though it be hard for the most excellent artist truly to draw his own picture.

Mr. Bastwick his speech.

71. Dr. Bastwick succeeded him, making a speech to this effect. "Here are many spectators of us, "who stand here as delinquents, yet am I not conscious to myself of the least trespass, wherein I "have deserved this outward shame. Indeed I wrote "a book against antichrist the pope, and the pope "of Canterbury said it was written against him. "But were the press open unto us, we would scatter "his kingdom, and fight courageously against Gog "and Magog. There be many here that have set "many days apart on our behalf, (let the prelates "take notice thereof,) and have sent up strong "prayers to God for us, the strength and fruit "whereof we have felt all along in this cause. In "a word, so far am I from fear or care, that had "I as much blood as would swell the Thames," (then visible unto him, his face respecting the

south,) "I would lose every drop thereof in this "cause."

Many men many minds.

72. His friends much admired and highly commended the erection of his mind triumphing over pain and shame, making the one easy, the other honourable, and imputed the same to an immediate spiritual support. Others conceived that anger in him acted the part of patience, as to the stout undergoing of his sufferings, and that in a Christian there lieth a real distinction betwixt spirit and stomach, valour and stubbornness.

Mr. Prynne his speech.

73. Mr. Prynne concluded the sad sight of that day, and spake to this purpose: "The cause of my "standing here is for not bringing in my answer; "God knoweth, my conscience beareth witness, and "my council can tell; for I paid them twice, though "to no purpose. But their cowardice stands upon "record. And that is the reason why they did "proceed, and take the cause *pro confesso* against "me. But rather than I would have my cause a "leading cause to the depriving of the subject's "liberties, which I seek to maintain, I choose to "suffer my body to become an example of this "punishment[b]."

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[b] [Gerrard in a letter to lord Strafford, dated July 24, 1637, mentions a few additional particulars: "Some few days," he observes, "after the end of "the term in the palace yard "two pillories were erected, "and there the sentence of "Star-chamber against Burton, Bastwick, and Prynne "was executed. They two "stood in the pillory two "hours; Burton by himself, "being degraded in the high "commission court three days "before; the place was full of "people, who cried and howled "terribly, especially when Burton was cropped. Dr. Bastwick was very merry; his "wife, Dr. Par's daughter, got "a stool, kissed him; his ears "being cut off, she called for "them, and put them in a clean "handkerchief, and carried "them away with her. Bast-

74. The censure was with all rigour executed on him, and he who felt the most fretted the least; commended for more kindly patience than either of his predecessors in that place. So various were men's fancies in reading the same letters imprinted in his face, that some made them to spell the guiltiness of the sufferer, but others the cruelty of the imposer. Of the latter sort many for the cause, more for the man, most for humanity sake, bestowed pity upon him: and now all three were remanded to their former prisons; and Mr. Prynne, as he returned by water to the tower, made this distich upon his own stigmatizing:

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His behaviour at the censure.

S. L.

Stigmata maxillis referens, insignia Laudis,
Exultans remeo, victima grata Deo.

Not long after, they were removed: Mr. Prynne to Caernarvon Castle in Wales: Dr. Bastwick, and Mr. Burton, the one to Lancaster Castle, the other to Launceston in Cornwall.

75. But it seems these places were conceived to have, either too little of privacy, or too much of pleasure. The two latter therefore were removed again; one to the Isle of Scilly, the other to the Isle of Guernsey; and Mr. Prynne to mount Orgueil Castle in Jersey. This in vulgar apprehensions added breadth to the former depth of their sufferings, scattering the same over all the English dominions, making the islands thereof as well as the

Their removal.

" wick told the people, the " lords had collar-days at court, " but this was his collar-day, " rejoicing much in it. Some " warrants are sent from the " lords to the sheriffs of the " several counties where they " are to be imprisoned, to re- " ceive them and see them " placed." Strafford's Lett. ii. 86.]

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continent, partake of their patience. And here we leave them all in their prisons, and particularly Mr. Prynne, improving the rocks and the seas (good spiritual husbandry) with pious meditations[c]. But we shall hear more of them hereafter at the beginning of the parliament.

A preparative to the censure of the bishop of Lincoln.

76. Next came the bishop of Lincoln to be censured in the Star-chamber, and something must be premised preparative thereunto[d]. After the great seal, some ten years since, was taken from him, he retired himself to Bugden, in Huntingdonshire, where he may be said to have lived in a public privacy. So many his visitants, hospital his housekeeping: it being hard to say, whether his table were more free and full in diet or discourse: indeed he had a plentiful estate to maintain it, besides his purchased land; the revenues of his bishopric and deanery of Westminster, out of which long since he had been shaken, if not fastened therein by the letters patents of king James. His adversaries beheld him with envious eyes, and one great prelate plainly said in the presence of the king, that "the "bishop of Lincoln lived in as much pomp and "plenty as any cardinal in Rome, for diet, music, "and attendance." They resolved therefore to humble his height, the concurrence of many matters ministering occasion thereunto.

77. Sir John Lambe, dean of the arches, for-

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[c] [Writing most wretched doggrel on this occasion entitled, "Mount Orgueil, or di"vine and profitable Medita"tions raised from the Con"templations of these three "Leaves of Nature's Volume, "1. Rocks; 2. Seas; 3. Gar"dens. Lond. 1641."]

[d] [A very full account of these proceedings against the bishop of Lincoln will be found in Hacket's Life of Williams, ii. 111, sq.]

merly a favourite of Lincoln, (fetched off from being prosecuted in parliament, and knighted by his means,) with Dr. Sibthorp, Allen, and Burden, (two proctors, as I take them,) were entertained at the bishop's table at Bugden, where their talk was (the discourse general of those days) against puritans. The bishop advised them to take off their heavy hand from them, informing them that his majesty intended to use them hereafter with more mildness, as a considerable party having great influence on the parliament, without whose concurrence the king could not comfortably supply his necessities; adding moreover, that his majesty had communicated this unto him by his own mouth, with his resolutions hereafter of more gentleness to men of that opinion.

The bishop his discourse at the table with sir John Lamb.

78. Some years after, upon the denial of an official's place in Leicestershire, (which notwithstanding he carried in despite of the bishop,) sir John Lambe fell foul with his old friend, and in revenge complained of him for revealing the king's secrets concredited to his privacy. Hereupon attorney Noy was employed to put the same into an information in the Star-chamber, unto which bishop Williams, by good advice of counsel, did plead and demur, as containing no matter fit for the cognizance of that court, as concerning words spoken of matters done in parliament and secrets pretended to be revealed by him, a privy councillor and peer of parliament, and therefore not to be heard but in that high court. This demurrer being heard and argued by counsel *pro* and *con* in open court for two or three hours, (the lord keeper and other lords there present finding no cause nor colour to overrule it,) was referred to judge Richardson, (who

Informed against him in the Star-chamber.

lately having singed his coat from blasts at the court,) by him to be smothered, who in a private chamber presently after dinner overruled the same in a quarter of an hour[e].

Deserteth his intents of compounding with the king.

79. The demurrer thus rendered useless in the bishop's defence, he used what means he could by the lord Weston (a proper person, because treasurer, to meddle in money matters) to compound with his majesty; but his majesty resolved to have the bishop's answer, and confession of his fault, before he would compound with him. Whereupon the bishop, quitting all thoughts of composition, resolved to weather out the tempest of his majesty's displeasure at open sea, either out of confidence of the strength of his tackling, his own innocence, or skill of his pilots, who were to steer his suit, having the learnedest counsel of the land by whose advice he put in a strong plea, which likewise being argued and debated in open court, came at last to the same untimely end with the demurrer, as referred to

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[e] [Fuller has omitted a very important item in the charges brought against bishop Williams, the first, the foundation of all the rest. It is thus noticed in a letter addressed to lord Strafford: "Four of the "prebends of Westminster have "given to the lords of the "council a charge by way of "several articles against the "bishop of Lincoln, as dean "of Westminster, the other "eight complain not. The king "is made acquainted therewith, "and it is referred to some of "the council to examine the "business and report it to the "king." This was a charge of embezzlement of money belonging to the cathedral, as may be seen by the notes on §. 93. Strafford's Letters, i. p. 360. As for his cause in the Star-chamber, he was fully pardoned in Dec. 1635; but not so this contention with the prebends; for as there were still great quarrels between them in January, 1636, a commission was appointed by his majesty to hear and decide between them. See ibid. p. 511. And in the February following the college of Westminster put in a bill against the bishop for tampering with witnesses. Ib. p. 516.]

judge Richardson, and smothered by him in a chamber[f].

Puts in an especial answer.

80. This plea thus overruled, the bishop put in an especial answer to the information, declaring how all was grounded by a conspiracy and combination of the persons named in the bill, to wit, (Lambe, Sibthorpe, Allen, and Burden,) out of an intent to advance themselves, and hatred they bare to him, for not permitting them to poll and pill the king's subjects in Leicestershire, in their ecclesiastical courts, by hauling them into their nets *ex officio mero* without any previous complaint, under an imaginary colour of puritanism. To this especial answer attorney Noy rejoined in issue, admitting the bishop to prove his especial matters, who proceeded to the examination of his witnesses therein.

Kilvert entertained his prosecutor.

81. Now began attorney Noy to grow weary of the matter, and became slow and remiss in the prosecution thereof, whether out of respect to the bishop, whom he honoured, (though tart in terms against him, to please a greater prelate,) or out of consciousness that more weight was hung thereon than the slender wires of the cause would bear. Hereupon Richard Kilvert was entertained to follow the suit, (though not entering himself as he ought prosecutor upon record,) at the best being a necessary evil, to do what an honest man would be ashamed of. Indeed, like an English mastiff, he would fiercely fly upon any person or project, if set on with promise of profit, and having formerly made his breakfast on sir John Bennet, he intended to dine and sup on the bishop. And though his strength

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[f] [This must refer to an earlier period, as this judge died in Feb. 1635. See Strafford's Letters, i. p. 369.]

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consisted much in a cunning head, yet far more in an able back, and seconded in this suit and abetted from the court in his undertakings. This Kilvert so wrought himself into Warren, an examiner of the Star-chamber, that (some say) contrary to his oath he revealed unto him that the testimony of one John Pregion, register of Lincoln and Leicester, was most material in the bishop his defence[g].

Pregion, a principal witness of the bishop, much molested.

82. Then was it Kilvert his design to uncredit the testimony of Pregion, by charging him with several accusations, particularly getting a bastard, though being no matters upon record, to take away the validity of his witness. The bishop apprehending himself necessitated to weigh up Pregion his repute, engaged himself more zealously therein than was conceived consistent with the gravity of so great a prelate for so inconsiderable a person. Especially to such who knew not that Dr. Morrison and this Pregion were the only persons of note present at the bishop his table when the discourse passed betwixt him and sir John Lambe. The bastard laid to his charge is bandied at Lincoln sessions backward and forward betwixt Pregion and another. The first court fathers it upon him, the next freed him from it, and a third returned it upon him again. This last order of sessions was again dissolved as illegal by the judges of the king's bench, and Pregion cleared from the child charged on him; sir John Mounson, a justice of that county appearing very active against him, and the bishop no less earnest in his behalf.

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[g] [Heylin in "The Appeal," &c. part iii. p. 23, gives a slightly different version of this tale, but so slight that it is scarcely worth quoting.]

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Suhornation of perjury charged on the bishop.

83. Here happened the occasion of that which was afterwards so highly charged and heavily censured on the bishop Williams, viz. tampering to suborn witnesses. Henceforward Kilvert let fall his first information, which from this day sunk in silence, and employed all his power on the proof of subornation. That ban-dog let go his first hold, too hard for his teeth to enter, and fastened his fangs on a softer place, so to pinch the bishop to purpose; yea, so expensive was the suit, that the bishop (well skilled in the charge of charitable works) might with the same cost have built and endowed a small college.

In vain endeavoureth a composition with the king.

84. Some days before the hearing, a noble lord of his majesty's council[h], the bishop's great friend,

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[h] [He probably refers to Cottington, who had at this time a quarrel with his former friend the archbishop, for refusing to use his influence (as it seems) in procuring Cottington the treasurer's place. In a letter, dated Aug. 4, 1635, Cottington tells Strafforde; "Trust "me, (for I always tell you "the truth,) there is no more "intention in the king to make "me his treasurer, than to "make you archbishop of Canterbury. I go sliding back "very visibly, I go so seldom "to the court, as I am scarce "a courtier. I do never see "the king but on Sundays, "nor speak with him at all, "except he call me, which is "also very seldom. Credit I "have none at all with his "majesty, much less power. "Where then is your staff? "Such a rumour hath indeed "been raised, but merely out "of cunning and malice. I "know by whom. —— All "this is true, as any man who "observes any thing can tell "you. If you should ask "me then, who the king will "give the staff to, I answer, "that in my opinion it will be "either to your lordship, or to "my lord of Canterbury. His "grace declares much his displeasure against me, and peradventure it increaseth by my "taking no notice of it; but "that which is worst of all, "they say, he can never be reconciled where once he takes "displeasure." — Strafforde's Letters, i. p. 449. Shortly after this we find the archbishop writing to his friend the lord deputy these very sententious and pregnant lines: "In the "mean time take this, Cottington is bringing off the bishop "of Lincoln; which, certainly "among other good causes and

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interposed himself to compound the matter, prevailing so far that on his payment of two thousand

" considerations him thereunto " moving, is to do me a great " kindness, for he knows he " loves me heartily." Ib. p. 480. In another letter of the same collection, written about a fortnight after this, it is stated by another writer: " They say the " lord bishop of Lincoln's par- " don is ready to pass the great " seal, with a perfect redinte- " gration into the king's favor, " abolition of all old matters, " and my lord Cottington had " a great hand in it. The four " youngest prebends of West- " minster have eagerly bonded " themselves against him lately " divers ways." Ibid. p. 489. In his diary Laud makes a brief allusion to these troubles, but so very briefly that he throws no light on the matter. " May, " June, and July. In these " months the troubles at the " commission for the treasury, " and the difference which hap- " pened between the lord Cot- " tington and myself, &c." and a little below; " during the " commission for the treasury, " my old friend, sir F. W[in- " debanke], forsook me and " joined with the lord Cotting- " ton; which put me to the " exercise of a great deal of " patience."

To this note, which is already overgrown, I must beg the reader's pardon for subjoining an extract from lord Clarendon's History; but it forms so admirable a comment upon the whole of these proceedings, and brings out the characters of the archbishop and his wily adversary so clear and forcibly, that I cannot refrain from extracting it.

Speaking of Juxon's appointment to the treasury, he observes: " In the mean time the " archbishop himself was infi- " nitely pleased with what was " done, (how very true this is, " see his Diary, p. 53,) and un- " happily believed he had pro- " vided a stronger support for " the church; and never abated " any thing of his severity or " rigor towards men of all con- " ditions, or in the sharpness of " his language and expressions, " which was so natural to him, " that he could not debate any " thing without some commo- " tion, when the argument was " not of moment, nor bear con- " tradiction in debate, even in " the council, where all men " are equally free, with that " patience and temper that was " necessary; of which they " who wished him not well " took many advantages, and " would therefore contradict " him, that he might be trans- " ported with some indecent " passion; which, upon a short " recollection, he was always " sorry for, and most readily " and heartily would make ac- " knowledgment. No man so " willingly made unkind use of " all those occasions as the " lord Cottington, who, being " a master of temper, and of " the most profound dissimu- " lation, knew too well how to " lead him into a mistake, and pound the suit should be superseded in the Star-chamber, and he freed from further molestation. But at this lord's return the price was risen in the market, and besides the aforesaid sum it was demanded of him, that to procure his peace he must part with his deanery of Westminster, parsonage of Walgrave, and prebend of Lincoln, which he kept in *commendam*. To this the bishop answered, that he would in no case forego those few remainders of the favour which his dead master king James had conferred upon him.

Frustrated therein by his great adversary.

85. Not long after another bargain was driven, by the well intended endeavours of the same lord; that seeing his majesty at that time had much occasion for moneys, if he would but double the former sum, and lay down four thousand pounds, he should be freed from further trouble, and might go home with all his parcels about him. The bishop returned, that he took no delight to fence at law with his sovereign, and thankfully embracing the motion prepared himself for the payment; when a great adversary stepping in, so violented his majesty to a trial, that all was not only frustrated, but this

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"then drive him into choler, "and then expose him upon "the matter and the manner "to the judgment of the company; and he chose to do "this most when the king was "present, and then he would "dine with him the next day." Rebellion, i. p. 176. The last remark is admirable. Yet cunning and wily as was Cottington, it seems that he was deceived in this matter of the treasuryship, and that Wentworth, to whom he complained, was the first person to whom he owed this opposition to his wishes. At all events, we find Laud acknowledging Cottington's capacity, and then asking Strafforde this question: "But "I would fain hear from your "lordship, how you think business would be carried by that "(Cottington's) hand. For "what I think, both in regard "of king and church, I have "written to you already." Letters, i. p. 438. Unfortunately, we have not the deputy's answer.]

afterwards urged against the bishop, to prove him conscious of a crime, from his forwardness to entertain a composition.

His heavy censure.

86. The day of censure being come, sir John Finch, lord chief justice, fined the bishop ten thousand pound for tampering to suborn witnesses; secretary Windebank concurred with (that little bell being the loudest and shrillest in the whole peal) as who alone motioned to degrade him; which was lustily pronounced by a knight and layman, having no precedent for the same in former ages. The other lords brought the fine down to eight thousand pound, and a thousand marks to sir John Mounson, with suspension *ab officio et beneficio*, and imprisoning him during the king's pleasure. The earl of Arundel added, that the cause in itself was extraordinary, not so much prosecuted by the attorney, as immediately by the king himself recommended to their justice. Manchester, lord privy seal, said that this was the first precedent, wherein a master had undone himself to save his servant[i].

To which the archbishop of Canterbury did concur.

87. The archbishop of Canterbury did consent thereunto, aggravating the fault of subornation of perjury, with a pathetical speech of almost an hour long, shewing how the world was above three thousand years old before ripe enough to commit so great a wickedness, and Jezabel the first in Scripture branded with that infamy, whose false witnesses the Holy Spirit refused to name, otherwise than under the character of men of Belial. Wherefore, although (as he said) he himself had been five

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[i] [These speeches are printed at greater length in Rushworth's Collections, ii. p. 429. Laud's speech is reported here unfairly enough.]

times down on his knees to his majesty in the bishop's behalf, yet, considering the guilt so great, he could not but agree with the heaviest censure. And although some lords, the bishop's friends, as treasurer Weston, earl of Dorset, &c., concurred in the fine, with hope the king should have the sole honour of the mitigation thereof; yet his majesty's necessities meeting with the person adjudged guilty, and well known for solvable, no wonder if the utmost penny of the fine was exacted.

Three of his servants fined with him.

88. At the same time were fined with the bishop George Walker his secretary, Cadwallader Powell his steward, at three hundred pounds apiece, and Thomas Lund, the bishop his servant, at a thousand marks, all as defendants in the same cause[k], yet none of them was imprisoned, save Lund, for a few weeks, and their fine never called upon unto this day, which the bishop said was commuted into such offices as hereafter they were to do in the favour of Kilvert.

The complaints against the unjust proceedings against him, put in by the bishop into the parliament.

89. To make this our history entire, the matter shall rather rule the time, than the time the matter, in this particular suit. Be it therefore known to the reader, that some four years after, viz. 1640, when this bishop was fetched out of the tower, and restored a peer in parliament, he therein presented several grievances, concerning the indirect prosecution of this cause against him, whereof these the principal.

First, That his adversaries utterly waved and declined the matter of their first information about

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[k] [These men were fined for being concerned in tampering with the witnesses in Predeon's case, if the report respecting them be true. See Heylyn in "The Appeal," &c. part iii. p. 24.]

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Secondly, That he was deprived of the benefit of bringing in any exceptions against the testimonies of sir John Lambe and Dr. Sibthorp, to prove their combination against him, because they deposing *pro domino rege*, none must impeach the credit of the king's witnesses, who must be reputed holy and sacred in what they aver, insomuch that after briefs were drawn by counsels on both sides, the court was moved to expunge those witnesses which made most against the king and for the defendant.

Thirdly, That Kilvert used all ways to menace and intimidate the bishop his witnesses, frighting them as much as he could out of their own consciences, with dangers presented unto them. To this purpose he obtained from secretary Windebank, that a messenger of the Star-chamber, one Peachy by name, was directed to attend him all along the speeding of the commission in the country, with his coat of arms upon him, with power to apprehend and close imprison any person whom Kilvert should appoint, pretending from the secretary warrants for matters of state, and deep consequence so to do; by virtue whereof, in the face of the commission, he seized on and committed George Walker and Thomas Lund, two material witnesses for the bishop, and by

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[1] These complaints I extracted out of the bishop his original.

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the terror thereof chased away many more, whose depositions were necessary to the clearing of the bishop his integrity; yet when the aforesaid two prisoners, in the custody of the messenger, were produced before secretary Windebank, he told them he had no matters of state against them, but turned them over to Kilvert, wishing them to give him satisfaction; and were not permitted to have their liberty until after long close imprisonment, they were forced to confess under their own hands crimes against themselves and the bishop, which afterwards they denied and revoked upon their oaths.

Lastly, and chiefly, That the judges privately overruled his pleas, so that what shame and the honour of the court, with the inspection of so many eyes, would not permit to be done publicly in the sunshine of justice, was posted over by a judge privately in a corner.

These and many more Kilvertisms, as he calls them, did the bishop complain of in parliament, who so far tendered his innocency therein, that they ordered all the records of that suit in the Star-chamber to be obliterated. Yea, we may justly conceive that these grievances of the bishop did much hasten, if not chiefly cause, the suppression of that court.

Is examined again in the tower.

90. Thirteen days after he was suspended by the high commission, and imprisoned in the tower for almost four years, during whose durance therein, two bishops and three doctors were sent thither unto him to take his answer to a book of articles of twenty-four sheets of paper written on both sides. They proffered him the Bible to take the oath thereon, which he utterly refused, claiming the pri-

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vilege of a peer, adding moreover, that being a bishop, it was against law and precedent in antiquity, that young priests, his grace's (and some who had been his own) chaplains, and lay doctors, should sit as judges of a bishop his doctrine, with power to deprive him of his bishopric if disliking the same. This was overruled, and he as one of the king's subjects required to make his answer[m].

Whether some books were orthodox.

91. First, The article that all books licensed by his grace's chaplains (as Chune his, and Sales his book, with doctor Mannering his Sermons) are presumed by all true subjects to be orthodox, and agreeable to sound religion. This the bishop utterly denied, and wondered at their impudency to propound such an article unto him.

Who had power to license them.

92. Secondly, They alleged, that no bishop but his grace, the lord of London, and their chaplains, had power to allow books. This the other denied, saying that all bishops, who were as learned as they, had as much power as they, citing for the same the council of Lateran under Leo the Tenth, *Reformatio Cleri,* under Cardinal Pole, Queen Elizabeth her Injunctions, and the decree of the Starchamber relating to all these. He also stoutly averred the privilege to belong only to the bishops, and not to their servants: howbeit his grace had shuffled in his chaplains to the last printed Starchamber decree. More frivolous were the ensuing articles whereon he was examined.

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[m] [Fuller has committed many errors in this account of Williams. The articles here mentioned are not to be found in the reports of his trial, either in those which are printed in Rushworth, or in the MS. reports which I have met with. Hacket, however, has copied them into his narrative. Ibid. p. 130.]

That he called a book entitled "A Coal from the "Altar," a pamphlet.

That he said that all flesh in England had corrupted their ways.

That he said scoffingly he had heard of a mother church, but not of a mother chapel, meaning the king's, to which all churches in ceremonies were to conform.

That he wickedly jested upon St. Martin's hood.

That he said that the people are not to be lashed by every man's whip.

That he said (citing a national council for it) that the people are God's and the king's, and not the priests' people.

That he doth not allow priests to jeer and make invectives against the people.

His cautious answer.

93. To all which the bishop made so wary an answer, that no advantage could be gained thereby; yea, though some days after they returned to re-examine him upon the same articles, to try as he thought the steadiness of his memory, or else to plunge him into some crime of perjury, if in any material point he dissented from his former depositions; but the bishop, like a good boy, said his lesson over again and again, so that no advantage could be taken against him, and thereupon they gave him leave to play, proceeding no further in this cause, only they painted him out in an ugly shape to the king, as disaffected to the present government, and, God willing, we shall hear more of their proceedings against him hereafter[n].

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[n] [The following particulars from a MS. in the Harleian Collection respecting the proceedings in the Star-chamber against the bishop of Lincoln have not hitherto been noticed

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Transition to a sad subject.

94. But now we are summoned to a sadder subject, from the sufferings of a private person, to the

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by his biographers, and may serve to correct several errors into which they have fallen.

Pory to Puckering, Nov. 1, 1632. "My lord bishop of "Lincoln was at first summoned up to the Star-chamber by "a writ from my lord keeper, "as peers used to be, but having excused his not coming "up for default of health, he "was then served with a writ "as a common man, fol. 184, "Nov. 15, 1632. On Monday I was told by the clerk "of the entries of the Star-"chamber, there is now a bill "really exhibited into that "court against my lord bishop "of Lincoln, which chargeth "his lordship (as the same "clerk upon superficial view "tells me) with spreading "false news and rumours, with "disclosing secrets out of counsels, and with extortion in "some things while he was "lord keeper.........When the "bill was brought into him by "Mr. attorney's clerk, (so sir "C. Y. tells me,) he said "somewhat merrily unto him, "'You mistake the party, "(quoth he,) the bill belongs "to the earl of Lincoln, and "not to the bishop.' The messenger replied; 'If it please "your lordship to peruse it, "you shall find it concerns the "bishop only.'" fol. 183.

Jan. 24, 1633. "My lord "bishop of Lincoln, notwith-"standing the last term's Star-"chamber bill put in against "him was overthrown by a "demurrer and taken off the "file, is against this term cited "both by letter and subpœna "to appear and answer in that "court to a new bill which "Mr. attorney hath framed "against him." fol. 188. April 13, 1636, E. R. to sir T. Puckering. "The commission which "has been a-foot every Mon-"day these two months, upon "the prebends of Westmin-"ster's complaints against the "bishop of Lincoln, is now "put off till the Monday after "Easter week. Monday, the "last week, he had a very ill "day; a new charge is lately "risen up against him, that his "lordship hath received out "of the prebends' allowances "3300*l.* towards the repara-"tion of the abbey church; "they charge him he hath not "laid out half the money, and "that he keeps the rest. His "lordship saith a bargain is a "bargain, and gives in no ac-"count; but his grace told his "lordship; 'It was a base bar-"gain,' so requires the bishop "to bring in the accounts, "which the bishop hath small "mind unto; and whether his "lordship can now make a true "account, yes or no, is a great "question; because it is said "his lordship hath made seve-"ral accounts and then dis-"liked them again." fol. 191.

Jan. 17, 1637. "The bishop "of Lincoln hath sent up to "the board letters of com-"plaint against one Shelly, "an assessor of the ship-money miseries and almost mutual ruin of two kingdoms, England and Scotland. I confess my hands have A.D. 1637. 13 Chas. I.

"in his lordship's town of Bugden, as also against sir Robert Osberne, a justice of peace thereabouts. The business I cannot learn perfectly: thus I hear it. Because the constable did not comply with Shelly in the manner of his assessing, therefore does Shelly snatch the roll out of the constable's hand and puts it in his pocket, and would not return it back again, which the bishop understanding, he commits Shelly to the jail without bail or mainprize; but sir Robert Osberne, approving what Shelly would have done, he bails him. Of this the bishop complains, and so possesseth their lordships with his letter, as if he had been very zealous to do his majesty service; which their lordships do apprehend, and thereupon return the bishop letters of thanks. Yet when this business was in agitation, there was an attachment granted out of the Star-chamber court against the bishop for not bringing in a commission for his examination of witnesses, which his lordship having notice of, he sends it in before this attachment was signed, saying he had thought the Star-chamber office had not been open during the twelve days, and that was the reason he had delayed the putting it in according to the day appointed. The bishop's cause will be put off till the first day in Easter term, because before it can come to hearing, some orders about expunging of witnesses must be settled in court in that house: but then both bills will be ready for hearing. Upon the bishop's complaint Shelly was sent for up. He tells a fair tale for himself, casting all the blame upon the bishop, that the lords are all astand, and therefore they have appointed a day to hear all parties. Some say that Shelly's report makes the bishop to have done his majesty a great disservice, and that he having eight hundred acres of land in that town, he would have freed it from being charged with ship-money, and have laid it upon the poorer townsmen; but whether this be true, yea or no, I am yet uncertain, till their lordships have heard both parties." fol. 199.

Feb. 14, 1637. "In some church within the county of Bedford there was lately an altar of stone, with four pillars altarwise erected. It seems there had been one there heretofore, for in digging thereabouts the altar-stone was found in the ground. This being complained of to the diocesan, the bishop of Lincoln, he came to the church to see if it were so, yea or no, and finding it there, his lordship caused it in his own presence to be digged up and to be taken

A. D. 1637. 13 Chas. I. always been unwilling to write of that cold country, for fear my fingers should be frostbitten therewith, but necessity to make our story entire puts me upon the employment. Miseries caused from the sending of the book of service, or new liturgy, thither, which may sadly be termed a rubric indeed, dyed with the blood of so many of both nations slain on that occasion.

The project of a public Prayerbook began in the reign of king James. 95. It seems the design began in the reign of king James, who desired and endeavoured an uniformity of public prayers through the kingdom of Scotland. In order whereunto an act was passed in the general assembly[o] at Aberdeen, 1616, to authorize some bishops present to compile and frame a public form of common prayer: and let us observe the motions thereof.

i. It was committed to the bishops aforesaid, and principally to the archbishop of St. Andrew's[p], and

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" quite away, telling the parson " that if he pleased he might set " the communion-table there, " but altars were forbidden by " the statute. In that business " between the bishop and Shelly, wherein the bishop was so " passionate upon the relating " it to his majesty, the king " hath commanded the lords to " allow Shelly grand costs, be- " cause the bishop hath so " much troubled him, besides " Shelly's false imprisonment." fol. 202.

Feb. 7, 1637. "Friday last " the lords heard that differ- " ence between the bishop of " Lincoln and Shelly, as in " course of my last. I do hear " that it did appear on exami- " nation that the bishop was " much to blame. He would " have taken in that roll where- " in he was seized 11*l.* or 13*l.* " (I know not whether) to " have made a new roll, to have " eased himself and to have laid " it upon divers poor people " that received alms of the pa- " rish, (as it was the last year.) " The bishop was over-passion- " ate, and Shelly was not so " dutiful as it became him. " The lords spent much time " to hear it, but concluded no- " thing at all against the bishop, " because the king had all his " rights." fol. 204.]

[o] The king's large declaration concerning the tumults in Scotland, p. 16.

[p] See the Life of Archbishop Spotswood.

William Cooper, bishop of Galloway, to draw up the order thereof.

ii. It was transmitted into England to king James, who punctually perused every particular passage therein.

iii. It was remitted with the king's observations, additions, expunctions, mutations, accommodations, to Scotland again.

But here the design sunk with the sudden death of king James, and lay not only dormant but dead; till some years after it was awakened, or rather revived again[q].

Why a difference betwixt the Scotch and English Liturgy.

96. In the reign of king Charles the project being resumed[r], (but whether the same book or no God knoweth,) it was concluded not to send into Scotland the same liturgy of England *totidem verbis*, lest this should be misconstrued a badge of dependence of that church on ours. It was resolved also, that the two liturgies should not differ in substance, lest the Roman party should upbraid us with weighty and material differences[s]. A similitude therefore,

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[q] [The king desired, as bishop Guthry tells us in his memoirs, that there should be a uniformity of worship between the two churches of Scotland and England; for this purpose he recommended to the bishops the introduction of certain English ceremonies; as 1st, That the gesture of kneeling should be enforced in receiving the holy communion. 2ndly, That private baptism should be allowed in cases of necessity. 3rdly, Private communion in the like case. 4thly, Confirmation. 5thly, An observance of the great feasts of the church, such as our Lord's nativity, passion, resurrection, and ascension, and Whit-Sunday. These articles having been debated in the general assembly at St. Andrew's, 1617, were afterwards concluded in the general assembly at Perth, 1618, and ratified in parliament, 1621. At the same time the king was desirous of having a liturgy formed after the model of the English; but this latter design was waived for the present, in consideration of its unpopularity with the people. See Guthry, p. 7.]

[r] [In 1636.]

[s] King's Declaration, p. 18.

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Canonical scripture only used in the Scotch Liturgy.

First, Whereas there was an ancient complaint, That so much of the Apocrypha was read in churches, viz. about sixty chapters for the first lesson, (from the 28th of September till the 24th of November,) canonical scripture is alone appointed to be read in the Scotch liturgy, one day alone excepted, viz. All Saints day, when Wisdom iii. and Ecclesiasticus xiv. are ordered for morning and evening prayer; on the same token there wanted not such who said that those two chapters were left there to keep possession, that all the rest might in due time be reintroduced.

The word *priest* therein declined.

Secondly, The word *priest*, often used in the English liturgy, gave offence to many, insomuch that one[u] writeth, "To call us priests as touching our "office, is either to call back again the old priesthood "of the law, which is to deny Christ to be come, or "else to keep a memory of the popish priesthood of "abomination still amongst us; besides, we never "read in the New Testament, that the word *priest* "(as touching office) is used in the good part."

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[t] [These objections are principally taken from Baillie's αὐτοκατάκρισις, p. 98, sq.]

[u] Cartwright in his Admonition, cap. iii. div. 1.

Whereupon, to prevent exception, it was mollified into *presbyter* in the Scotch rubric.

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Scotch saints inserted into the calendar.

97. The names of sundry saints, omitted in the English, are inserted into the Scotch calendar (but only in black letters) on their several days according to the form following:—

JANUARY.	FEBRUARY.	MARCH.
11 David, king. 13 Mungo, bishop; in Latin, *Kentigernus*.	18 Colman.	11 Constantine III. king. 17 Patrick. 20 Cuthbert.
APRIL.	MAY.	JUNE.
1 Gilbert, bishop. 20 Serfe, bishop.		9 Columba.
JULY.	AUGUST.	SEPTEMBER.
6 Palladius.		18 Ninian, bishop. 25 Adaman, bishop.
OCTOBER.	NOVEMBER.	DECEMBER.
	16 Margaret, queen. 27 Ode Virgin.	4 Droftane.

Some of these were kings, all of them natives of that country, (Scotch and Irish in former ages being effectually the same,) and which in probability might render them to the favour of their countrymen, some of them (as Coldman, &c.) zealous opposites to the church of Rome in the celebration of Easter[x].

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[x] [But these and other alterations were introduced to conciliate the Scottish nation, and give their liturgy a nationality, that it might not look like an imposition from England, nor that a form of prayer settled in a parliament at Westminster should without any alteration be enforced upon Scotland. It was feared by the bishops that this would look like an attempt, of which that nation was at this time particularly jealous, of making Scotland a province to England. And this

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Alterations of addition

98. But these Scotch saints were so far from making the English liturgy acceptable, that the

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probably was one of the reasons why the liturgy of king Edward VI. was in some points adopted in preference to that which now prevails in the church of England, bishop Laud being anxious to retain as nearly as possible that form of worship and public prayer which had been authorized and approved of by the fathers of the reformation, and to introduce nothing into the church but what was sanctioned by their example and authority, and that of the primitive church. We have indeed the positive declaration of lord Clarendon, that Laud was opposed to any alterations whatever. "He "foresaw the difficulties which "would arise in rejecting, or "altering, or adding to the li"turgy, which had so great "authority, and had by the "practice of near fourscore "years obtained great venera"tion from all sober protest"ants; and how much easier "it would be to make objec"tions against anything that "should be new, than against "the old." Rebellion, i. 150. The event verified his anticipations, but Laud was obliged to submit to circumstances over which he had no control.

The archbishop's own account of the matter, though somewhat long, is so exceedingly important, that I shall make no scruple of introducing the chief portions of it here. It is as follows: "Dr. John "Maxwell, the late bishop of "Ross, came to me (Laud) "from his majesty, it was "during the time of a great "and dangerous fever, under "which I then laboured. It "was in the year 1629, in Au"gust or September. The "cause of his coming was to "speak with me about a li"turgy for Scotland. At his "coming I was so extreme ill, "that I saw him not. After "this, when I was able to sit "up, he came to me again, and "told me it was his majesty's "pleasure, that I should re"ceive instructions from some "bishops of Scotland concern"ing a liturgy for that church; "and that he was employed "from my lord the archbp. of "St. Andrew's (Spottiswoode), "and other prelates there about "it. I told him I was clear of "opinion, that if his majesty "would have a liturgy settled "there, it were best to take the "English liturgy without any "variation, that so the same "service book might be esta"blished in all his majesty's "dominions. Which I did then "and do still think would have "been a great happiness to this "state, and a great honour and "safety to religion. To this "he replied, that he was of a "contrary opinion, and that "not he only, but the bishops "of that kingdom thought heir "countrymen would be much "better satisfied, if a liturgy "were framed by their own "clergy, than to have the Eng"lish liturgy put upon them;

English liturgy rather made the saints odious unto them. Such the distasting alterations in the book, reducible to, i. additions, ii. omissions, iii. variations, and, iv. transpositions. To instance in the most material of the first kind.

In the Scotch liturgy.

i. In the baptism these words are inserted, "Sanc-"tify this fountain of water, thou which art the "sanctifier of all things[y]." Which words are enjoined to be spoken by the minister so often as the water in the font is changed, which must be at least twice a month.

ii. In the prayer after the doxology, and before

"yet he added, that it might "be according to the form of "our English service book. I "answered to this, that if this "were the resolution of my "brethren the bishops of Scot-"land, I would not entertain "so much as thoughts about "it, till I might by God's bless-"ing have health and oppor-"tunity to wait upon his ma-"jesty, and receive his farther "directions from himself.

"When I was able to go "abroad I came to his majesty, "and represented all that had "passed. His majesty avowed "the sending of Dr. Maxwell "to me, and the message sent "by him. But then he in-"clined to my opinion, to have "the English service without "any alteration to be establish-"ed there; and in this con-"dition I held that business, "for two if not three years at "least. Afterwards the Scot-"tish bishops still pressing his "majesty that a liturgy framed "by themselves, and in some "few things different from "ours, would relish better with "their countrymen; they at "last prevailed with his ma-"jesty to have it so, and car-"ried it against me, notwith-"standing all I could say or do "to the contrary. Then his "majesty commanded me to "give the bishops of Scotland "my best assistance in this "way and work. I delayed, as "much as I could, with my "obedience, and when nothing "would serve, but it must go "on, I confess I was then very "serious, and gave them the "least help I could. But of "whatsoever I had any doubt, "I did not only acquaint his "majesty with it, but writ "down most of the amend-"ments or alterations in his "majesty's presence.——Sure "I am his majesty approved "them all; and I have his "warrant under his royal hand "for all that I did about that "book." Troubles, p. 169.]

[y] Fol. 106. pag. 2.

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the communion, this passage (expunged by the English reformers out of our liturgy) is out of the ordinary of Sarum inserted in the Scotch prayer book. "And of thy almighty goodness vouchsafe "so to bless, and sanctify with thy word and holy "word, these thy gifts and creatures of bread and "wine, that they may be unto us the body and "blood of thy most dearly beloved Son[z]:" from which words, saith the Scotch author, all papists[a] use to draw the truth of the transubstantiation.

iii. He that celebrateth is enjoined to cover that which remaineth of the consecrated elements with a fair linen cloth or corporal[b]; a word unknown to vulgar ears of either nations, in other sense than to signify an under officer in a foot company, and complained of to be purposely placed here, to wrap up therein all Romish superstition of Christ's carnal corporal presence in the sacrament.

iv. In the prayer for the state of Christ's church militant, these words are added: "And we also "bless thy holy name for all those thy servants, "who having finished their course in faith, do now "rest from their labours. And we yield unto thee "most high praise and hearty thanks, for the won"derful grace and virtue declared in all thy saints, "who have been the choice vessels of thy grace "and the lights of the world in their several gene"rations: most humbly beseeching thee that we "may have grace to follow the example of their "steadfastness in thy faith, and obedience to thy "holy commandments, that at the day of the general "resurrection, we, and all they which are of the

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[z] Fol. 102. pag. 1.

[a] Baillie's Αὐτοκατάκρισις, p. 105.

[b] Fol. 103. pag. 2.

"mystical body of thy Son, may be set on his right "hand, and hear that his most joyful voice, *Come ye* "*blessed*, &c.[c]"

The most material omission.

99. Amongst the omissions none more complained of than the deleting these words in the delivery of the bread at the sacrament. "Take and eat this in "remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed "on him in thine heart by faith with thanksgiving[d]." A passage destructive to transubstantiation, as diverting communicants from carnal manducation, and directing their souls to a spiritual repast on their Saviour. All which in the Scotch liturgy is cut off with an Amen from the receiver.

The variations and transpositions are of less moment, as where the money gathered at the offertory, distributable by the English liturgy to the poor alone, hath a moiety thereof assigned the minister, therewith to buy him books of holy divinity, and some prayers are transposed from their place and ordered elsewhere, whereat some do take no small exception. Other smaller differences (if worth the while) will quickly appear to the curious perusers of both liturgies.

The discontented condition of the Scotch nation when the liturgy was first brought unto them.

100. Pass we now from the constitution of the book to the condition of the Scotch nation, in this unhappy juncture of time when it was imposed upon him. For it found them in a discontented posture, (and high royalists will maintain, that murmuring and muting against princes differ only in degree, not in kind,) occasioned on several accounts[e].

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[c] Fol. 98. pag. 1.

[d] Fol. 103. pag. 2.

[e] [" Though liturgy and "episcopacy were made the "occasions, yet they were not "the causes of the war; religion being but the vizard to "disguise the business; which

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i. Some years since the king had passed an act of revocation of crown lands, (aliened in the minority of his ancestors,) whereby much land of the nobility became obnoxious to forfeiture. And though all was forgiven again by the king's clemency[f], and nothing acted hereby to the prejudice of any, yet it vexed some to hold that as remitted by the king's bounty, wherein they conceived themselves to be before unquestionably estated.

ii. Whereas many formerly in Scotland were rather subjects than tenants, rather vassals than subjects: such the landlords' princely (not to say tyrannical) power over them, the king had lately freed many from such dangerous dependence. Especially in point of payment of tithes to the lords of the erection, equivalent to our English lay impropriators, (but allowing the landlords a valuable consideration, according to the purchases[g] of that country,) whereby the king got the smiles of those who were most in number, but the frowns of such who were greatest in power.

iii. Many were offended that at the king's coronation, some six years ago, and a parliament follow-

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" covetousness, sacrilege, and " rapine, had the greatest hand " in. For the king resolved " to revoke all grants of abbey- " lands, the lands of bishoprics " and chapters, and other reli- " gious corporations, which " having been vested in the " crown by act of parliament, " were conferred on many of " the nobility and gentry in " his father's minority, when " he was under protectors. " Whence the nobility of Scot- " land made use of discontented " and seditious spirits (under " colour of the canons and " common prayer) to embroil " that kingdom, that so they " might keep their lands, and " hold up their power and " tyranny over the people." Heylyn's Obs. on L'Estrange's Hist. of Charles I. p. 151.]

[f] The King's Declaration at large, p. 6.

[g] Idem, p. 9.

ing thereon, an act of ratification was passed concerning the church, her liberties and privileges, which some complained of was done without plurality of suffrages.

iv. Some persons of honour desiring higher titles[h] were offended that they were denied unto them, whilst his majesty conferred them on others.

There want not those also who confidently suggest it to posterity, that pensions constantly payed out of the English exchequer in the reign of king James to some principal pastors in the Scottish church were since detained. So also the bounty of boons was now restrained in the reign of king Charles, which could not fall so freely as in the days of his father, (the cloud being almost drained,) adding moreover that the want of watering of Scotland with such showers, made them to chap into such clefts and chinks of parties and factions disaffected to the king's proceedings.

The book bears the blame of all.

101. To increase these distempers, some complain (how justly their own countrymen best know) of the pride and pragmaticalness of the Scotch bishops, who being but probationers on their good behaviour (as but reintroduced by king James) offended the ancient nobility with their meddling in state matters. And I find two principally accused on this account; Dr. Forbes, bishop of the new bishopric of Edinburgh[i], and Dr. Wedderburne, bishop of Dumblane. Thus was the Scotch nation full of discontents, when this book being brought unto them bare the blame of their breaking forth into more dangerous designs, as when the cup is brimful before, the last (though least) superadded drop is charged alone to be the cause of all the running over.

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[h] Pag. 11.

[i] [This must be a mistake; for Forbes, the learned and pious bishop of Edinburgh, died in 1634, having held his bishopric only three months. He was succeeded by David Lindsay, a man of great meekness and moderation, who was unfortunate in this respect, that he was set over a most turbulent and insolent province, the fomenters of disturbance and treasonable combinations. It is far more likely that Fuller has mistaken him for Maxwell, bishop of Ross, who was hated by that paragon of duplicity or folly,

The Scotch church standeth on the terms of its own independency.

102. Besides the church of Scotland claimed not only to be independent, and free as any church in Christendom, (a sister, not daughter, of England,) but also had so high an opinion of its own purity, that it participated more of Moses his platform in the mount, than other protestant churches, being a reformed reformation; so that the practice thereof might be directory to others, and she fit to give, not take, write, not receive copies from any neighbouring church, desiring that all others were like unto them, save only in their afflictions[k].

Traquair; "for he conceived a "jealousy (and many thought "not without cause) that the "bishops intended his fall, to "the end Mr. John Maxwell, "bishop of Ross, might be "made treasurer." Guthry, p. 12.]

[k] [According to lord Clarendon, the new bishops in Scotland had so little interest in the affections of that nation, and so little control and authority, that they had not power to reform and regulate their own cathedrals, and their jurisdiction was so much confined that they possessed little more than the name of episcopacy. To redeem them from this ill conceit, and to increase their authority, the king made the archbishop of St. Andrew's and four or five other bishops lords of the session. "But this "unseasonable accumulation of "so many honours upon them," says the noble author, "exposed "them to the universal envy "of the whole nobility, many "whereof wished them well, "as to their ecclesiastical qualifications, but could not en"dure to see them possessed "of those offices and employ"ments, which they looked "upon as naturally belonging "to themselves; and then the "number of them was thought "too great, so that they over"balanced many debates; and "some of them, by want of "temper or want of breeding, "did not behave themselves

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Archbishop Laud accused as principal composer of the book.

103. So much for the (complained of) burden of the book, as also for the sore back of that nation (galled with the aforesaid grievances) when this liturgy was sent unto them: and now we must not forget the hatred they bare to the hand which they accused for laying it upon them. Generally they excused the king in their writings as innocent therein, but charged archbishop Laud as the principal (and Dr. Cosins[l] for the instrumental) compiler thereof, which may appear by what we read in a writer of that nation, afterwards employed into England, about the advancing of the covenant betwixt both nations, and other church affairs[m].

"This unhappy book was his grace's invention; "if he should deny it, his own deeds would convince "him. The manifold letters which in this pesti-"ferous affair have passed betwixt him and our "prelates are yet extant. If we might be heard, "we would spread out sundry of them before the "convocation house of England, making it clear as "the light, that in all this design his hand hath "ever been the prime stickler; so that upon his "back mainly, nill he will he, would be laid the

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"with that decency in their "debates towards the greatest "men of the kingdom as in "discretion they ought to have "done." Rebel. i. 155, see also 184 sq. Guthry thinks very reasonably that it was an appointment of this kind which first induced Archibald lord Lorn, the most influential leader in this Scottish rebellion, to turn against the bishops. He was irritated at seeing the office of chancellor, for which he was a suitor, bestowed upon the archbishop of St. Andrew's. "The like was talked concern-"ing some others," he continues, "who had formerly "turned that way, and I know "well there was ground for it, "yet because the same is not so "generally understood, as this "which I have instanced, there-"fore I forbear to condescend," (i. e. to notice it). Ib. p. 12.]

[l] Baillie, ibid. p. 100.

[m] [Yet the framing of this liturgy was committed to a select number of the Scottish bishops; and Laud was scarce consulted. See Clarendon, ib. p. 151, 183.]

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"charge of all the fruits, good or evil, which from "that tree are like to fall on the king's countries [n]."

Surely if any such evidence was extant, we shall hear of it hereafter at his arraignment, produced and urged by the Scotch commissioners.

The tumult at Edinburgh at the first reading the book.

104. But leaving the roots to lie under the earth, let us look on the branches spreading themselves above ground, and passing from the secret author of this book, behold the evident effects thereof. No sooner had the dean of Edinburgh began to read the book in the church of St. Giles, in the presence of the privy council, both the archbishops, divers bishops, and magistrates of the city, but presently such a tumult was raised, that through clapping of hands, cursing, and crying, one could neither hear nor be heard. The bishop of Edinburgh endeavoured in vain to appease the tumult; whom a stool aimed to be thrown at him had killed, [o] if not diverted by one present, so that the same book had occasioned his death and prescribed the form of his burial, and this hubbub was hardly suppressed by the lord provost and bailiffs of Edinburgh [p].

More considerable persons engaged in the cause.

105. This first tumult was caused by such whom I find called the scum of the city [q], considerable for nothing but their number: but few days after the cream of the nation (some of the highest and best quality therein) engaged in the same cause, crying out, "God defend all those who will defend God's "cause, and God confound the service book and all "the maintainers of it [r]."

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[n] [Baillie, ibid. p. 93.]

[o] The King's large Declaration, p. 23.

[p] [See an account of these disturbances in Clarendon, i. p. 193. Guthry, p. 19.]

[q] [See the same thing stated by Clarendon, ib. 194. 196.]

[r] The King's large Declaration, p. 37.

The occasion of the Scotch covenant.

106. The lords of the council interposed their power, and to appease all parties issued out a proclamation to remove the session (much like to our term in London) to Linlithgow. This abated their anger as fire is quenched with oil, seeing the best part of the Edinburghers' livelihood depends on the session kept in their city; yea so highly were the people enraged against bishops as the procurers of all these troubles, that the bishop of Galloway passing peaceably along the street towards the council house was waylaid[s] in his coming thither, if by divine providence, and by Frances Stewart, son to the late earl of Bothwell, he had not with much ado been got within the doors of the council house. Indeed there is no fence but flight, nor

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[s] King's large Declaration, p. 35. [Dr. Sideserfe. This prelate, who owed his appointment to Laud, has received very scanty justice even from those who were concerned in some measure to justify him. (See Guthry, p. 14.) Happily sir David Dalrymple, one not likely to be prejudiced in favour of Laud or any of his friends, has printed a letter in his Memorials of Charles I. which is greatly to this bishop's honour. "Mr. Sydeserf, sometime bishop of Galloway, came here "five or six weeks ago. I "could have wished he had "not come here, as long as I "had been here, rather to have "satisfied other men's scruples "whom I have no intention to "offend than my own; for the "Lord is my witness, to whom "I must answer at the last "day, I think there was never "a more unjust sentence of "excommunication than that "which was pronounced against "some of these bishops, and "particularly against this man, "since the creation of the "world; and I am persuaded, "that these who did excommunicate him did rather excommunicate themselves from "God, than him; for I have "known him these 29 years, "and I have never known any "wickedness or unconscientious dealing in him; and I "know him to be a learneder "and more conscientious man "(although I will not purge "him of infirmities more than "others) than any of those who "were upon his excommunication." p. 73. For the proceedings against him in the general assembly the reader may consult Baillie's Letters, No. 10.]

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counsel but concealment, to secure any single party against an offended multitude.

The author's excuse, why not proceeding in this subject.

107. These troublesome beginnings afterwards did occasion the solemn league and covenant, whereby the greatest part of the nation united themselves to defend their privileges, and which laid the foundation of a long and woful war in both kingdoms. And here I crave the reader's pardon to break off; and leave the prosecution of this sad subject to pens more able to undertake it. For first, I know none will pity me if I needlessly prick my fingers with meddling with a thistle which belongs not unto me. Secondly, I despair of perfect notice of particulars, at so great a distance of place, and greater of parties concerned therein. Thirdly, if exact intelligence were obtained, as ages long ago are written with more safety than truth, so the story hereof might be written with more truth than safety. Lastly, being a civil business, it is aliened from my subject, and may justly be declined. If any object, that it is reducible to ecclesiastical story, because one, as they said, termed this *bellum episcopale*, "the war "for bishops[t]," I conceive it presumption for so mean a minister as myself (and indeed for any under that great order) to undertake the writing thereof.

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[t] [Rather, the war against bishops. For they shewed their usual dishonesty in this covenant, pretending that it was none other than what had been subscribed in the reign of James I.; by which artifice they induced many to subscribe to it. Whereas in fact "they "had inserted a clause never "heard of, and quite contrary "to the end of that covenant, "whereby they obliged them- "selves to pursue the extirpa- "tion of bishops, and had the "confidence to demand the "same in express terms of the "king, in answer to a very "gracious message the king "had sent them." Clarend. i 197.]

SECT. VIII.

TO

HENRY PUCKERING NEWTON[a],

SON AND HEIR TO

SIR HENRY PUCKERING NEWTON, BARONET.

No gentleman in this nation is more advantaged to be a scholar born than yourself. You may be free of the city of the muses by the copy of your grandfathers. By your father's side, sir Adam Newton[b], *tutor to prince Henry;* A.D. 1637. 13 Chas. I.

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[a] [Henry Puckering Newton, son to sir Henry, whom he did not survive. His grandfather was dean of Durham in 1606, and tutor of prince Henry, and created a baronet in 1620. He died in 1629, and partly before his death, partly by bequest after his decease, rebuilt his parish church of Charlton, in the diocese of Durham. He married Dorothy daughter of sir John Puckering, knight, lord keeper of the great seal in the reign of Elizabeth. Sir Henry his son took the surname of Puckering on succeeding to his estates, and removed to the priory in Warwickshire, the seat of his uncle aforesaid. He fought for his sovereign at Edge Hill, was member of parliament for Warwick, and was of a generous spirit, a father to the poor, and a kind benefactor to many of those who having suffered in the cause of royalty were yet neglected by king Charles II. He died before his son Henry in 1700, at the advanced age of eighty-three. His wife was Elizabeth daughter of Thomas Murray, esq., tutor to king Charles I.]

[b] [A letter addressed to him while tutor of prince Henry respecting the education of a Mr. Puckering, has been printed by Ellis in his Second Series, iii. p. 220. See Smith in vita Pet. Junii, p. 17.]

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by your mother's side, Mr. Murray, tutor to king Charles[c]. *If you be not more than an ordinary scholar, it will not be less than an extraordinary disgrace: good is not good where better is expected. But I am confident if your pains be added to your parts, your prayers to your pains, God's blessing will be added to your prayers to crown all with success.*

Bishop Williams his second censure.

NOW bishop Williams was sentenced the second time in the Star-chamber on this occasion: Mr. Lambert Osbaldston, schoolmaster of Westminster, wrote a letter unto him wherein this passage: "The little vermin the urchin and hocus-"pocus is this stormy Christmas at true and real "variance with the leviathan[d]." Now the bishop was accused for divulging scandalous libels on privy councillors, and that the archbishop of Canterbury was meant by the former names. The lord treasurer Weston by the leviathan, because he should have presented the libellous letter at the receipt thereof to some justice of peace, and not dispersed the same.

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[c] [Thomas Murray succeeded sir Henry Saville in the provostship of Eton 1622, which he appears to have held, as did his predecessor, by a royal dispensation, both being laymen, and consequently incompetent by the Statutes. It is not a little strange that Murray should have been a puritan and disliked subscription, for which reason he appears to have refused to enter into holy orders; and still more strange that Williams, the bishop of Lincoln, should have lectured him upon neglect "of subscription and "other conformities." "I "schooled him soundly against "puritanism," he observes in a letter to Buckingham, "which "he disavows, though some-"what faintly; and hope his "highness [prince Charles] and "the king will second it." Cabala, p. 264. See also Wood's Ath. i. 467.]

[d] [This letter, which is printed at full length in Rushworth, iii. 803, is dated Jan. 9, 1633, that is, 1634.]

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2. The bishop pleaded, that he remembered not the receiving of any such letter, that he conceived no law directs the subject to bring to a justice of peace enigmas or riddles, but plain literal and grammatical libels, against a known and clearly deciphered person. Mr. Osbaldston denied the words so meant by him, and deposed that he intended one Dr. Spicer a civilian by hocus-pocus, and the lord Richardson (alive when the letter was written, but then dead) for the leviathan.

3. Here a paper was produced by Mr. Walker the bishop's secretary, and found in a bandbox at Bugden, wherein the bishop had thus written unto him: "Here is a strange thing, Mr. Osbaldston im-
" portunes me to contribute to my lord treasurer's
" use some charges upon the little great man, and
" assures me they are mortally out. I have utterly
" refused to meddle in this business, and I pray you
" learn from Mr. S. and Mr. H. if any such falling
" out be, or whether somebody hath not gulled the
" schoolmaster in these three last letters, and keep
" it to yourself what I write unto you. If my lord
" treasurer would be served by me, he must use a
" more near, solid, and trusty messenger, and free
" me from the bonds of the Star-chamber, else let
" them fight it out for me [e]." Now Mr. Walker being pressed by a friend why he would discover this letter to his master's prejudice, averred he brought it forth as a main witness of his innocency, and as able to clear him of all in the information: however it was strongly misunderstood, for by comparing both letters together the court collected the bishop guilty [f].

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[e] [This letter is also at full length in Rushworth, ib.]

[f] [In refutation of the bishop's defence, the attorney

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4. Sir John Finch fined him a just ten thousand pounds, *rotundi numeri causa,* whom secretary Windebank[g] did follow. The rest brought it down to eight thousand pounds only, one lord thought fitting to impose no fine upon him, rendering this reason, *qui jacet in terra non habet unde cadet.*

5. The bishop already being sequestered from all his temporal lands, spiritual preferment, and his person imprisoned, Mr. Osbaldston was sentenced five thousand pounds, loss of his good living at Wethamstead, and to have his ears tacked to the pillory in the presence of his scholars, whom his industry had improved to as great eminency of learning as any of his predecessors, insomuch that he had at the present above fourscore doctors, in the two universities, and three learned faculties, all gratefully acknowledging their education under him. But this last personal penalty he escaped by going beyond Canterbury, conceived seasonably gone beyond the seas, whilst he secretly concealed himself in London[h].

6. All this put not a period to the bishop's troubles; his unsequestered spirit so supported him, that some of his adversaries frowned because he

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general urged, that this interpretation would not serve; because these letters were found in a box in the bishop's house at Bugden; and when the bishop heard they were found, he said Osbaldston was undone. That the bishop's secretary, Walker, and the clerk of the kitchen, had heard their master discourse on the subject of these letters, that these names were frequently used by him and Osbaldston, and that by them was meant the archbishop and the treasurer. Rushworth, ib. p. 834.]

[g] [Not only Windebanke, but some others.]

[h] [And this principally by the connivance of archbishop Laud, as Heylyn assures us. See "The Appeal" &c. part iii. p. 25. He had fled, however, before the trial ended, Rushworth, p. 806, as it was reported, but in reality concealed himself in Drury Lane.]

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could smile under so great vexations. A design is set afoot, either to make him voluntarily surrender his bishopric, deanery, and dignities, (permitted perchance a poor bishopric in Ireland,) or else to press his degradation: in order whereunto a new information with ten articles is drawn up against him, though for the main, but the consequence and deductions of the fault for tampering with witnesses, for which in the 13th of king Charles he had been so severely censured.

7. To this the bishop put in a plea, and demurrer, that *Deus non judicat bis in id ipsum*, God punisheth not the same fault twice: that this is the way to make causes immense and punishments infinite: that whereas there was two things that philosophers denied, infiniteness and vacuity, Kilvert had found them both in this prosecution; infiniteness in the bishop's cause, and vacuity in his purse: that the profane wits of this age should begin to doubt of the necessity of believing a hell hereafter, when such eternal punishments are found here in such kind of prosecution: he added also that he could prove it, that it was a conspiracy of Kilvert's with other persons, if he might have freedom to bring his witnesses against them; which, because it cast scandal on those who were *pro domino rege*, was now denied him.

8. Then put he in a rejoinder and an appeal unto the next parliament, whensoever it should be assembled, pleading his privilege of peerage as his freehold, and that he could not be degraded of his orders and dignities. This was filed in the Star-chamber under the clerk's book, and copies thereof signed with the usual officers. Now although this

was but a poor help, no light of a parliament dawning at that time; yet it so far quashed the proceedings, that it never came to further hearing, and the matter superseded from any final censure.

Scotch broils begin.

9. And now began Scotland to be an actor, and England (as yet) a sad spectator thereof, as suspecting ere long to feel what she beheld. There is a high hill in Cumberland called Skiddaw, and another answering thereto (Scrussell by name) in Anandale in Scotland, and the people dwelling by have an old rhyme:

. . . . . if Skiddaw[i] hath a cap,
Scrussle wots full well of that.

Meaning, that such the vicinity (and as I may say sympathy) betwixt these two hills, that if one be sick with a mist of clouds, the other soon after is sad on the like occasion. Thus none, seeing it now foul weather in Scotland, could expect it fair sunshine in England, but that she must share in the same miseries; as soon after it came to pass.

The reader referred to other authors.

10. Let those who desire perfect information hereof, satisfy themselves from such as have or may hereafter write the history of the state[k]. In whom they shall find how king Charles took his journey northward, against the Scottish covenanters. How some weeks after, on certain conditions, a peace was concluded betwixt them. How his majesty returned to London; and how this palliated cure soon after brake out again, more dangerous than ever before.

A parlia-

11. In these distracted times a parliament was

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[i] Camden's Brit, in Cumber. p. 767.

[k] [See L'Estrange, Reign of King Charles, p. 165. Sanderson's Reign of King Charles, p. 247. Clarendon's Rebellion, i. 201. Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 116.]

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ment and convocation called.

called with the wishes of all, and hopes of most that were honest, yet not without the fears of some who were wise, what would be the success thereof[l]. With this parliament began a convocation; all the mediate transactions (for aught I can find out) are embezzled; and therein it was ordered, that none present should take any private notes in the house, whereby the particular passages thereof are left at great uncertainty[m]. However, so far as I can remember, I will faithfully relate[n], being comforted with this consideration, that generally he is accounted an unpartial arbitrator who displeaseth both sides.

Doctor Turner his text and sermon.

12. On the first day thereof Dr. Turner, chaplain to the archbishop of Canterbury, made a Latin sermon in the quire of St. Paul's. His text, Matth. x. 16, *Behold, I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves*[o]. In the close of his sermon he complained, that all bishops held not the reins of church discipline with an even hand, but that some of them were too easy and remiss in the ordering thereof. Whereby whiles they sought to gain to themselves the popular praise of meekness and mildness, they occasionally cast on other bishops (more severe than themselves) the unjust imputation of rigour and tyranny; and therefore he advised them all with

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[l] [Of the proceedings of this parliament, see Clarendon's Rebellion, i. 232.]

[m] [A long account of it however will be found in Nalson's Collections, i. 351, a work undertaken by the advice and assistance of abp. Sancroft, and therefore very trustworthy in these points. The only order however, as to silence, of which Fuller speaks in this passage, related to the canons then to be proposed, an order made by the house themselves. See Nalson, ib. p. 363.]

[n] [Our author was proctor for Bristol on this occasion.]

[o] [See Wilkins' Conc. iv. p. 538.]

equal strictness to urge an universal conformity. Sermon ended, we chose Dr. Stewart, dean of Chichester, prolocutor[p].

The effect on the archbishop's Latin speech.

13. Next day of sitting we met at Westminster, in the chapel of king Henry the Seventh, both the houses of convocation being joined together, when the archbishop of Canterbury entertained them with a Latin speech, well nigh three quarters of an hour gravely uttered, his eyes ofttimes being but one remove from weeping. It consisted most of generals, bemoaning the distempers of the church, but concluded it with a special passage, acquainting us how highly we were indebted to his majesty's favour, so far intrusting the integrity and ability of that convocation, as to empower them with his commission, the like whereof was not granted for many years before, to alter old, or make new canons for the better government of the church[q].

The just suspicions of wise men.

14. Some wise men in the convocation began now to be jealous of the event of new canons, yea, became fearful of their own selves, for having too great power, lest it should tempt them to be over tampering in innovations. They thought it better, that this convocation, with its predecessors, should be censured for laziness, and the solemn doing of just nothing, rather than to run the hazard by over activity to do anything unjust. For, as waters long dammed up, ofttimes flounce and fly out too violently, when their sluices are pulled up, and they let loose on a sudden; so the judicious feared, lest the convocation, whose power of meddling with church matters had been

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[p] [Dr. Richard Stewart, clerk of his majesty's closet. Heylyn's Laud, p. 423. See also Nalson's Collections, i. 358.]

[q] [This commission is printed in Nalson, ib. p. 358.]

bridled up for many years before, should now, enabled with such power, overact their parts, especially in such dangerous and discontented times. Yea, they suspected, lest those who formerly had outrun the canons with their additional conformity, (ceremonizing more than was enjoined,) now would make the canons come up to them, making it necessary for others, what voluntarily they had practised themselves.

The parliament suddenly dissolved.

15. Matters began to be in agitation, when on a sudden the parliament (wherein many things were started, nothing hunted down or brought to perfection) was dissolved. Whilst the immediate cause hereof is commonly cast on the king and court, demanding so many subsidies at once, (England being as yet unacquainted with such prodigious payments,) the more conscientious look higher and remoter, on the crying sins of our kingdom. And from this very time did God begin to gather the twigs of that rod, (a civil war,) wherewith soon after he intended to whip a wanton nation.

Yet the convocation still continues.

16. Next day the convocation came together, as most supposed, merely meeting to part, and finally to dissolve themselves. When, contrary to general expectation, it was motioned, to improve the present opportunity, in perfecting the new canons which they had begun. And soon after a new commission was brought from his majesty, by virtue whereof we were warranted still to sit, not in the capacity of a convocation, but of a synod, to prepare our canons for the royal assent thereunto. But Dr. Brownrigg, Dr. Hacket, Dr. Holdsworth, Master Warmistrey[r],

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[r] [Proctor for Worcester.]

with others, to the number of thirty-six, (the whole house consisting of about six score[s],) earnestly protested against the continuance of the convocation[t].

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[s] [The house consisted of 147 members according to the list printed, see Nalson. Some of course would not be present.]

[t] [Dr. Heylyn and Fuller were both present at this convocation, but vary in their narratives respecting its proceedings, which is not to be wondered at, since the circumstances referred to occurred sixteen years before their controversy. Dr. Heylyn says: "I have not "heard of any such motion as "our author speaks of from "any who were present at that "time, though I have dili"gently laboured to inform "myself in it. Nor is it pro"bable, that any such motion "should be made as the case "then stood. The parliament "had been dissolved on Tues"day, 5th May; the clergy "met in convocation the mor"row after, expecting then to "be dissolved and licensed to "go home again. But *con"trary to that general expecta"tion*, instead of hearing some "news of his majesty's writ "for their dissolution, there "came an order from the arch"bishop to the prolocutor to "adjourn till Saturday. And "this was all the business that "was done that day; the "clergy generally being in no "small amazement, when they "were required not to *dissolve* "till further order. Saturday "(9th May) being come, what "then? 'A new commission,' "saith he, 'was brought from "his majesty, by virtue where"of we were warranted to sit, "not in the capacity of a con"vocation, but of a synod.' I "had thought our author with "his *wise* and *judicious* friends "had better hearkened to the "tenour of that commission, "than to come out with such "a wild and gross absurdity as "this is, so fit for none as sir "Edward Deering, and for "him only to make sport withal "in the house of commons. "At the beginning of the con"vocation, when the prolo"cutor was admitted, the abp. "produced his majesty's com"mission under the great seal; "whereby the clergy was en"abled to consult, treat of, "and conclude such canons, "as they conceived most ex"pedient to the peace of the "church and his majesty's ser"vice. But this commission "being to expire with the end "of the parliament, it became "void, of no effect as soon as "the parliament was dissolved. "Which being made known "unto the king, who was re"solved the convocation should "continue, and that the clergy "should go on in completing "those canons which they had "so happily begun, he caused "a new commission to be sent "unto them, in the same words "and to the very same effect "as the other was, but that it

17. These importunately pressed that it might sink with the parliament, it being ominous and without

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" was to continue *durante beneplacito* only, as the other " was not. The Appeal, &c." P. iii. p. 33.

These remarks of Dr. Heylyn are without doubt substantially correct, as they agree with the statement made by the archbishop on his trial. And as his narrative of these events supplies some deficiencies in Fuller's account, and corrects some of his errors, I have quoted it at considerable length. The following is the archbishop's version of these occurrences:

" During this parliament the " clergy had agreed in convo" cation to give his majesty six " subsidies, payable in six years, " which come to 20,000*l.* a " year for six years, but the " act of it was not made up. " His majesty seeing what lay " upon him, and what fears " there were of the Scots, was " not willing to lose these sub" sidies, and therefore thought " upon the continuing of the " convocation, though the par" liament was ended, *but had* " *not opened those thoughts of* " *his to me.*

" Now I had sent to dissolve " the convocation at their next " sitting, haste and trouble of " these businesses making me " forget, that I was to have the " king's writ for the dismissing " as well as the convening of " it. Word was brought me " of this from the convocation " house, while I was sitting in " council and his majesty pre" sent. Hereupon, when the " council rose, I moved his " majesty for a writ: *his ma*" *jesty gave me an unlooked for* " *reply, That he was willing* " *to have the subsidies which* " *we had granted him, and* " *that we should go on with the* " *finishing of those canons which* " *he had given us power under* " *the broad seal of England* " *to make.* And when I re" plied it would be excepted " against, in all likelihood by " divers, and desired his ma" jesty to advise well upon it, " the king answered me pre" sently, that he had spoken " with the lord-keeper, the " lord Finch, about it, and that " he assured him it was legal. " *I confess I was a little trou*" *bled, both at the difficulties* " *of the time, and at the answer* " *itself; that after so many* " *years' faithful service, in a* " *business concerning the church* " *so nearly, his majesty would* " *speak with the lord-keeper,* " *both without me, and before* " *he would move it to me, and* " *somewhat I said thereupon* " *which pleased not; but the* " *particulars I remember not.* " Upon this, I was command" ed to sit and go on with the " convocation. At first, some " little exception was taken " there by two or three of the " lower house of convocation, " whether we might sit or no. " I acquainted his majesty with " the doubt, and humbly be" sought him, that his learned " council, and other persons of

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A party dissents, and protests against the continuance thereof.

precedent, that the one should survive, when the other was expired. To satisfy these, an instrument was brought into synod, signed with the hands of the lord privy-seal, the two chief justices, and other judges, justifying our so sitting in the nature of a synod, to be legal according to the laws of the realm[u]. It ill becometh clergymen, to pretend to

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" honour, well acquainted with " the laws of the realm, might " deliver their judgment upon " it. This his majesty gra- " ciously approved, and the " question was put to them: " they answered as followeth " under their hands (see this " instrument in note [u]).

" This judgment of these " great lawyers," he continues, " settled both houses of con- " vocation. So we proceeded " according to the power given " us under the broad seal, as " is required by the statute " 25 Hen. VIII. c. 19.

" In this convocation thus " continued, we made up our " act, perfect for the gift of six " subsidies, according to the an- " cient form in that behalf, and " delivered it under seal to his " majesty. This passed *nemine* " *refragante*, as may appear " *apud Acta*. And we followed a " precedent in my lord abp. " Whitgift's time, an. 1586.

" Together with this *act for* " *subsidies*, we went on in de- " liberation for certain canons, " thought necessary to be add- " ed, for the better govern- " ment and more settled peace " of the church, which began " to be much disquieted by " the proceedings of some fac- " tious men (which have since " more openly and more vio- " lently shewed themselves). " The canons which we made " were in number seventeen, " and at the time of the sub- " scription, no man refused or " so much as checked at any " one canon, or any one breach " in any one of them, saving a " canonical or two," &c. Troubles and Trial, p. 80.]

[u] [The instrument ran as follows:

" The convocation being call- " ed by the king's writ under " the great seal, doth continue " until it be dissolved by writ " or commission under the great " seal, notwithstanding the par- " liament be dissolved.

" 14 Maii, 1640.
" Jo. Finch, C. S.
" H. Manchester.
" John Bramston.
" Edward Littleton.
" Ralph Whitfield.
" John Bankes.
" Robert Heath."

(Laud's Troubles, p. 80. Nalson's Coll. i. 364.)

The long parliament however (notwithstanding this opinion) made this continuation of the convocation a matter of great complaint against the archbishop. It must not however on that account be inferred that there was any thing illegal, more skill in the laws than so learned sages in that profession, and therefore unpartial judgments may take off from the fault of the followers, and lay it on the leaders, that this synod sat when the parliament was dissolved. This made the aforesaid thirty-six dissenters (though solemnly making their oral protests to the contrary, yet) not to dissever themselves, or enter any act *in scriptis* against the legality of this assembly; the rather, because they hoped to moderate proceedings with their presence. Surely some of their own coat, which since have censured these dissenters for cowardly compliance, and doing no more in this cause, would have done less themselves if in their condition.

Out of the burial of an old convocation the birth of a new synod.

18. Thus was an old convocation converted into a new synod[x]; and now their disjointed meeting being

either in its sittings or proceedings. In the disputes which afterwards arose on this subject, both parties seem to have assumed it as an unquestionable right, that the king might assemble and continue convocation, whether parliament was sitting or not. Dr. Wake was for making the sitting and actings of convocation entirely dependent on the free pleasure of the prince; his opponent Dr. Atterbury, taking at least a juster view of the powers and rights of the church catholic (whatever the practice of this kingdom may have been), claimed for the church an inalienable right of making canons for itself, a right which it never surrendered to the civil power. Neither however seem to have imagined that convocation could not sit and act without parliament. This was a point of Erastianism to which even Tillotson had not descended. That the church before emperors were Christianized did hold synods of her own pure authority is indisputable; that after the time of Constantine, though synods were summoned by imperial authority, yet that the church did not conceive that such assemblies were dependent on mere royal grace and favour, is evident from various declarations made to that purpose, collected by Dr. Brett, in his Church Government (p. 295. ed. 2d). This I think is quite enough to justify the archbishop's proceedings in this particular, had he not been fortified by the king's warrant.]

[x] [This passage has been controverted by Dr. Heylyn,

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set together again, they betook themselves to consult about new canons. Now because great bodies move

who affirms that the words "as "used in England of late "times" are synonymous; nor does our author deny it, but defends his use of them by the opinion of those who made this distinction between them: "1. Convocation, which is in "the beginning and ending "parallel with the parliament; "2. Synod, which is called by "the king out of parliament." The expression however, which appears to have been bandied about at this time, was "borrowed from the speech of a "*witty gentleman*, as he is "called by the author of the "History of the Reign of "King Charles, and since by "him declared to be the lord "George Digby, now earl of "Bristol. But he that spent "most of his wit upon it, and "therefore gave occasion unto "others for the like mistakings, was sir Edward Deering, in a speech made against "these canons an. 1640, where "we find these flourishes: "'Would you confute the "convocation? they were a "holy synod. Would you "argue against the synod? "why they were commissioners. "Would you dispute the commission? they will mingle "all powers together, and answer that they were some "fourth thing, that neither we "know nor imagine; that is to "say (as it follows afterwards, "p. 57), a convocational-synodical assembly of commissioners.'" Heylyn in The Appeal, &c. P. iii. p. 37. Clarendon says, that after the determination of the last, the convocation-house was "by a "new writ continued, and sat "for the space of above a "month under the proper title "of a synod; made canons, "which was thought that it "might, and gave subsidies "out of parliament, and enjoined oaths, which certainly "it might not do: in a word, "did many things which in "the best of times might have "been questioned, and therefore were sure to be condemned in the worst." Rebellion, i. 261. Dr. Barnard gives us a further account of this continuation of the convocation, in his Life of Dr. Heylyn, p. 180. "The convocation," he says, "usually endeth in course the next day "after the dissolution of parliament. But the Doctor "(Heylyn) well knowing that "one great end of calling parliaments is to raise the king "money for the public concerns, he therefore went to "Lambeth, and shewed the "archbishop a precedent, in "the reign of Q. Elizabeth, "for granting subsidies, or a "benevolence by convocation "to be levied upon the clergy, "without the help of a parliament, whereby the king's "necessities for money might "be supplied: and so it successfully fell out, the archbishop acquainting the king "with this present expediency,

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slowly, and are fitter to be the consenters to than the contrivers of business, it was thought fit to con-

" the convocation still continued sitting, notwithstanding " the dissolution of parliament. " And when this was scrupled " at by some of the house, the " Doctor resolved their doubts " and rid them of their fears, " by shewing them the distinction betwixt a king's writ " for calling a parliament, and " that for assembling a convocation; their different forms " and independence of one upon " another. Finally, it was determined by the king himself, and the learned council " in the law, that the convocation called by his majesty's " writ was to be continued till " it was dissolved by his writ, " notwithstanding the dissolution of parliament. This " benefit the king got by their " sitting, six subsidies under " the name of benevolences, " which the clergy paid him.

" On Friday, May 29, the " canons of that convocation " were unanimously subscribed " unto by all the bishops and " clergy, no one of them dissenting but the bishop of " Gloucester, for which he was " deservedly suspended, who " afterwards turned papist, and " was the only renegado prelate " of this land——But lastly, " to consider the sad condition " of that convocation before " they were dissolved. The " Doctor, as one of their fellow " members, speaks most feelingly: during all the time of " their sitting, they were under " those horrid fears, by reason " of the discontents falling upon " the parliament's dissolution, " 'that the king was fain to " set a guard about Westminster Abbey, for the whole " time of their sitting. Poor " men, to what a distress were " they brought: in danger of " the king's displeasure if they " rose, of the people's fury if " they sat; in danger of being " beaten down by the following " parliament, when the work " was done; and, after all, obnoxious to the lash of censorious tongues for their good intendments; for notwithstanding their great care that all " things might be done with " decency and to edification, " every one must have his blow " at them*.' For Prynne published The Unbishoping of " Timothy and Titus, and his " other libel of News from " Ipswich, wherein he called " the archbishop of Canterbury " archagent of the devil, 'that " Beelzebub himself had been " archbishop, and all the bishops were Luciferian lords.' " The like reproaches were " thundered out of the pulpit " by Burton in his sermon on " Prov. xxiv. 22, where he " abused the text and bishops " sufficiently, calling them instead of fathers step-fathers, " for pillars caterpillars, limbs

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[*] Heylyn's Obs. on L'Estrange's Char. I. p. 181.

tract the synod into a select committee of some six and twenty, beside the prolocutor, who were to ripen matters, as to the propounding and drawing up the forms to what should pass, yet so, that nothing should be accounted the act of the house, till thrice (as I take it) publicly voted therein[y].

Why the canons of this synod are not by us exemplified.

19. Expect not here of me an exemplification of such canons as were concluded of in this convocation. Partly, because being printed they are public to every eye, but chiefly, because they were never put in practice or generally received. The men of Persia did never look on their little ones till they were seven years old, (bred till that time with their mothers and nurses,) nor did they account them in their genealogies amongst their children (but amongst the more long-lived abortives) if dying before seven years of age. I conceive such canons come not under our cognizance, which last not (at least) an apprenticeship of years in use and practice, and therefore we decline the setting down the acts of

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" of the Beast, factors for Anti- " christ, and antichristian mush- " rooms†. Bastwick laid about " him before in his Flagellum " Episcoporum Latialium, when " he had worn out that rod, " took another in his Litany. " Finally, the rabble had a " cursed song among them to " affront the poor clergy with " as they met them; saying,

" 'Your bishops are bite-sheep;
" Your deans are dunces;
" Your priests are the priests of Baal;—
" The devil fetch them all by bunches.' "

A very full and complete account of the proceedings of this convocation will also be found in Heylyn's Life of Laud, p. 422, sq.]

[y] [" Some things passed at " the first time, but others " which were nearly *new* were " *thrice* read, on the same token " that it occasioned the contest " betwixt the prolocutor and " Dr. Holdsworth." Fuller in The Appeal, &c. P. iii. p. 39.]

† See Heylyn's Life of Laud, p. 329.

this synod. It is enough for us to present the number and titles of the several canons:

1. Concerning the regal power.

2. For the better keeping of the day of his majesty's most happy inauguration.

3. For suppressing of the growth of popery.

4. Against Socinianism.

5. Against sectaries.

6. An oath enjoined for the preventing of all innovations in doctrine and government.

7. A declaration concerning some rites and ceremonies.

8. Of preaching for conformity.

9. One book of articles of inquiry to be used at all parochial visitations.

10. Concerning the conversation of the clergy.

11. Chancellors' patents.

12. Chancellors alone not to censure any of the clergy in sundry cases.

13. Excommunication and absolution not to be pronounced but by a priest.

14. Concerning the commutations, and the disposing of them.

15. Touching concurrent jurisdictions.

16. Concerning licenses to marry.

17. Against vexatious citations[z].

The form of the oath, &c.

20. As for the oath concluded on in this synod, because since the subject of so much discourse, it is here set forth at large, according to the true tenour thereof, as followeth:

" I *A.B.* do swear, that I do approve the doctrine
" and discipline, or government established in the
" church of England, as containing all things neces-
" sary to salvation; and that I will not endeavour by
" myself or any other, directly or indirectly, to bring

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[z] [See these canons at length in Wilkins' Concil. iv. p. 543.]

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"in any popish doctrine contrary to that which is so "established; nor will I ever give my consent to "alter the government of this church, by arch-"bishops, bishops, deans, and archdeacons, &c. as it "stands now established, and as by right it ought to "stand, nor yet ever to subject it to the usurpation "and superstitions of the see of Rome. And all "these things I do plainly and sincerely acknowledge "and swear, according to the plain and common "sense and understanding of the same words, with-"out any equivocation or mental evasion, or secret "reservation whatsoever. And this I do heartily, "willingly, and truly, upon the faith of a Christian. "So help me God, in Jesus Christ[a]."

A motion for a new edition of the Welsh Bible.

21. Toward the close of the convocation, Dr. Griffith, a clerk for some Welsh diocese, (whose moderate carriage all the while was very commendable,) made a motion that there might be a new edition of the Welsh church Bible, some sixty years since first translated into Welsh, by the worthy endeavours of bishop Morgan, but not without many mistakes and omissions of the printer. He insisted on two most remarkable, a whole verse left out, Exod. xii., concerning the *angel's passing over the houses besprinkled with blood*, which mangleth the sense of the whole chapter. Another, Habak. ii. 5, where that passage, *He is a proud man*, is wholly omitted. The matter was committed to the care of the Welsh bishops, who, (I fear,) surprised with the troublesome times, effected nothing therein[b].

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[a] [See Laud's Troubles, p. 281. Nalson, ib. 374.]

[b] [See Nalson, ib. 370, according to whom, this motion was for amendment of the Welsh Liturgy. As the business was intrusted to the bishop of St. Asaph, it is not unlikely

Glocester's singularity threatened with suspension.

22. The day before the ending of the synod, Godfrey Goodman, bishop of Gloucester, privately repaired to the archbishop of Canterbury, acquainting him, that he could not in his conscience subscribe the new canons. It appeared afterwards, that he scrupled some passages about the corporal presence. But, whether upon popish or Lutheran principles, he best knoweth himself. The archbishop advised him to avoid obstinacy and singularity therein. However, the next day, when we all subscribed the canons, (suffering ourselves, according to the order of such meetings, to be all concluded by the majority of votes, though some of us in the committee privately dissenting in the passing of many particulars,) he alone utterly refused his subscription thereunto. Whereupon the archbishop, being present with us in king Henry the Seventh his chapel, was highly offended at him; "My lord of Gloucester," said he, "I admonish you to subscribe;" and presently after, "My lord of Gloucester, I admonish you the second "time to subscribe;" and immediately after, "I ad"monish you the third time to subscribe:" to all which the bishop pleaded conscience, and returned a denial[c].

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that the Dr. Griffith here mentioned was Dr. George Griffith, proctor for that diocese.]

[c] [From the report of the proceedings of this convocation in Wilkins, Conc. iv. p. 541, Goodman appears to have made a public opposition. The subject under discussion, was the propriety of publishing some canon concerning the Eucharist and the placing of the holy table. This Goodman opposed, affirming, that he would assent to no canon agreed upon in this convocation, until it should be first made apparent by what authority it was assembled and acted. (See Nalson, ib. 369.)

The following is Laud's own account of the matter, when it formed one of the articles of his accusation: "For the bi"shop of Gloucester's refusing "to subscribe the canons and "take the oath,—the truth is

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His suspension suspended.

23. Then were the judgments of the bishops severally asked, whether they should proceed to the present suspension of Gloucester, for his contempt herein?

"this: he first pretended (to "avoid his subscription) that "we could not sit, the parliament risen. He was satisfied "in this by the judges' hands. "Then he pretended the oath; "but that which stuck in his "stomach was the canon about "the suppressing the growth "of popery. For coming over "to me, to Lambeth, about "that business, he told me he "would be torn with wild "horses before he would subscribe that canon. I gave "him the best advice I could, "but his carriage was such, "when he came into the convocation, that I was forced to "charge him openly with it, "and he as freely acknowledged "it, as there is plentiful proof "of bishops and other divines "then present.

"And for his lordship's being "after put to take the oath,— "it was this: I took myself "bound to acquaint his majesty with this proceeding of "my lord of Gloucester's, and "did so. But all that was "after done about his commitment first, and his release "after, when he had taken the "oath, was done openly at a "full council-table, and his "majesty present, and can no "way be charged upon me as "my act. For it was my duty "to let his majesty know it, "to prevent further danger, "then also discovered." p. 282.

In another part also of his defence, where the archbishop enters even yet more minutely into an account of his proceedings with the bishop of Gloucester on this occasion, we find that one of the arguments urged against the bishop was this, that in all synods the suffragans are bound to declare themselves by open affirmation or denial of the canons agreed, when however it came to the bishop's turn to subscribe, he would not do either; "on this," says Laud, "I, with the consent of the synod, suspended "him. Divers of my lords "the bishops were very tender "of him, and the scandal given "by him. And John Davenant, then lord bishop of "Salisbury, and Joseph Hale, "then lord bishop of Exeter, "desired leave of the house, "and had it, to speak with my "lord of Gloucester, to see if "they could prevail with him. "They did prevail, and he "came back and subscribed "the canons in open convocation." He then proceeds to state, that upon informing the king with what had taken place, and upon certain information received from some agents beyond sea, the king restrained the bishop to his lodgings for a time. What that information was may be seen in the preface to Goodman's Memoirs. His imprisonment however had nothing to do with these canons.]

Davenant, bishop of Salisbury, being demanded his opinion, conceived it fit some lawyers should first be consulted with, how far forth the power of a synod in such cases did extend. He added moreover, that the threefold admonition of a bishop ought solemnly to be done with some considerable intervals betwixt them, in which the party might have time of convenient deliberation. However, some days after he was committed (by the king's command as I take it) to the Gate-house, where he got by his restraint what he could never have gained by his liberty, namely, of one reputed popish, to become for a short time popular, as the only confessor suffering for not subscribing the canons. Soon after the same canons were subscribed at York, where the convocation is but the hand of the dial, moving and pointing as directed by the clock of the province of Canterbury. And on the last of June following, the said canons were publicly printed, with the royal assent affixed thereunto.

First exception against the canons.

24. No sooner came these canons abroad into public view, but various were men's censures upon them. Some were offended, because bowing toward the communion-table (now called *altar* by many) was not only left indifferent, but also caution taken that the observers or the omitters thereof should not mutually censure each other; yet many complained, that this ceremony, though left indifferent as hereafter to salvation, was made necessary as here to preferment. Yea, this knee-mark of bowing or not bowing would be made the distinguishing character, that hereafter all such should be condemned as halting in conformity, who were not thoroughpaced in these additional ceremonies.

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Second exception.

25. Many took exception at the hollowness of the oath in the middle thereof, having its bowels puffed up with a wind &c., a cheverel word, which might be stretched as men would measure it. Others pleaded for it, as only inserted to save the enumeration of many mean officers in the church, whose mention was beneath the dignity of an oath, and would but clog the same. Yea since, some have endeavoured to excuse the same by the interpretative &c. incorporated into the body of the covenant, whereby people are bound to defend the privileges of parliament, though what they be is unknown to most that take the same.

Third and greatest exception.

26. But most took exception against that clause in the oath, "we will never give any consent to alter "this church government," as if the same were intended to abridge the liberty of king and state in future parliaments, and convocations, if hereafter they saw cause to change any thing therein. And this obligation seemed the more unreasonable, because some of those orders specified in the oath (as archbishops, deans, archdeacons) stand only established *jure humano, sive ecclesiastico;* and no wise man ever denied, but that by the same power and authority they are alterable on just occasion [d].

Endeavoured to be excused.

27. Yet there wanted not others, who with a favourable sense endeavoured to qualify this suspicious clause, whereby the taker of this oath was tied up from consenting to any alteration [e]. These

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[d] [The arguments against the oath may be seen in Baxter's Life, p. 16.]

[e] [Bishop Sanderson, though approving the oath, wished that the pressing of it might be forborne for the present, considering the difficulties of the time. He wrote a very moderate and sensible letter to the archbishop on this occasion, printed by Nalson, ib. p. 498.]

argued, that if the authority, civil or ecclesiastical, did not herein impose an oath, binding those that took it hereafter to disobey themselves, and reject such orders, which the foresaid civil or ecclesiastical power might afterwards lawfully enact or establish. For, seeing in all oaths this is an undoubted maxim, *Quacunque forma verborum juratur, Deus sic juramentum accipit, sicut ille cui juratur intelligit,* none can probably suppose that the governors in this oath intended any clause thereof to be an abridgment of their own lawful power, or to debar their inferiors from consenting and submitting to such alterations as by themselves should lawfully be made. Wherefore these words, "We will never give any "consent to alter," are intended here to be meant only of a voluntary and pragmatical alteration; when men conspire, consent, labour, and endeavour to change the present government of the church, in such particulars as they do dislike, without the consent of their superiors.

The over activity of some bishops.

28. But the exception of exceptions against these canons is, because they were generally condemned as illegally passed, to the prejudice of the fundamental liberty of the subject, whereof we shall hear enough in the next parliament. Meantime some bishops were very forward in pressing this oath, even before the time thereof. For, whereas a liberty was allowed to all to deliberate thereon, until the feast of Michael the archangel, some presently pressed the ministers of their dioceses, for the taking thereof, and, to my knowledge, enjoined them to take this oath kneeling. A ceremony (to my best remembrance) never exacted or observed in taking the oath of supremacy or allegiance; which

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some accounted an essay of their activity, if providence had not prevented them[f].

The importation of false printed Bibles.

29. Many impressions of English Bibles printed at Amsterdam, and moe at Edinburgh in Scotland, were daily brought over hither, and sold here. Little their volumes, and low their prices, as being of bad paper, worse print, little margent, yet greater than the care of the corrector, many most abominable errata being passed therein. Take one instance for all:—Jer. iv. 17, speaking of the whole commonwealth of Judah, instead of, *because she hath been* rebellious *against me, saith the Lord*, it is printed, Edinburgh 1637, *because she hath been* religious *against me, saith the Lord.* Many complaints were made, especially by the company of stationers, against these false printed Bibles, as giving great advantage to the papists, but nothing was therein effected[g].

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[f] [It might be imagined from Fuller's language, that objections were made to the canons immediately on their being published. We learn otherwise from Laud. It appears from him, that no one in convocation, bishop Goodman excepted, hesitated to subscribe them. "At their first publica-"tion," he says, "they were "generally approved in all "parts of the kingdom; and I "had letters from the remotest "parts of it full of approba-"tion; insomuch, that not "myself only, but my brethren "who lived near these parts, "and which were not yet gone "down, were very much joyed "at it. But about a month "after their printing, then be-"gan some whisperings against "them by some ministers in "London; and their excep-"tions were spread in writing "against them. And this set "others to work both in the "western and the northern "parts; till at last by the "practice of the faction, there "was suddenly a great altera-"tion, and nothing so much "cried down as the canons." ib. p. 83.

The list of the puritan ministers who combined to get hands to a petition against the oath may be seen in Nalson. Their leaders were Burgess, Calamy and Goodwin. Collect. i. 496.]

[g] [Yet the suppression of these Bibles afterwards formed one of the charges brought by Prynne against the archbishop. Prynne's Complete History &c., p. 183.]

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For in this juncture of time came in the Scottish army, and invaded the northern parts of England. What secret solicitations invited them hither, is not my work to inquire. Many beheld them as the only physicians of the distempered state, and believed that they gave not their patient a visit on pure charity, but having either received, or being well promised their fee before[h].

Parliament and convocation begin.

30. Soon after began the long lasting parliament, so known to all posterity for the remarkable transactions therein. The king went to the house privately by water, many commending his thrift in sparing expenses, when two armies in the bowels of the land expected their pay from his purse. Others, distinguishing betwixt needless pomp and necessary state, suspected this might be misinterpreted as if the Scotch had frighted him out of that ceremony of majesty: and some feared such an omission presaged that parliament would end with sadness to him, which began without any solemnity. Abreast therewith began a convocation, though unable long to keep pace together, the latter soon tiring as never inspirited by commission from the king to meddle with any matters of religion: Mr. Warmistrey (a clerk for Worcester) made a motion therein, that they should endeavour (according to the Levitical law) to cover the pit which they had opened, and to prevent their adversaries' intention, by condemning such offensive canons as were made in the last convocation. But it found no acceptance, they being

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[h] [Our historian had very good reason for this statement: avarice being a stronger motive than religion in bringing the Scots here, and in maintaining their army. Some very amusing disclosures to this effect are made in Baillie's Letters and Journals.]

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loath to confess themselves guilty before they were accused.

The insolence of Anabaptists.

31. This day happened the first fruits of Anabaptistical insolence, when eighty of that sect meeting at a house in St. Saviour's in Southwark, preached that the statute in the 35th of Eliz. for the administration of the Common Prayer was no good law, because made by bishops. That the king cannot make a good law, because not perfectly regenerate. That he was only to be obeyed in civil matters. Being brought before the lords they confessed the articles, but no penalty was inflicted upon them.

The three exiles brought home in triumph.

32. About this time Mr. Prynne, Dr. Bastwick, and Mr. Burton were brought out of durance and exile, with great triumph into London, it not sufficing their friends to welcome them peaceably, but victoriously, with bays and rosemary in their hands and hats. Wise men conceived that their private returning to the town had signified as much gratitude to God, and less affront to authority. But some wildness of the looks must be pardoned in such, who came suddenly into the light out of long darkness.

Dr. Pocklinton and Dr. Bray censured.

33. As bishop Williams and Mr. Osbaston were the two first clergymen who found the favour of this parliament, (being remitted their fines, and restored to their livings and liberty,) so doctor Pocklington and doctor Bray were the two first that felt their displeasures[i]: the former for preaching and

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[i] [" No other way to pacify " the high displeasures of the " bishop of Lincoln, but by " such a sacrifice, who there- " fore is intrusted to gather " such propositions out of those " two books as were to be re- " canted by the one, and for " which the other was to be " deprived of all his prefer- " ments. And in this the " bishop served his own turn,

printing, the latter for licensing two books, one called Sunday no Sabbath, the other The Christian altar[k]. Bishop Williams moved, that doctor Bray

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"and the people's too; his own turn first in the great controversy of the altar, in which he was so great a stickler, and in which Pocklington was thought to have provoked him to take that revenge. The people's turn he served next, in the condemning and recanting of some points about the Sabbath, though therein he ran cross to his former practice. Who had been not long since so far from those sabbatarian rigors, which now he would fain be thought to countenance, that he caused a comedy to be acted before him at his house at Bugden, not only on a Sunday in the afternoon, but upon such a Sunday also on which he had publicly given sacred orders both to priests and deacons. And to this comedy he invited the earl of Manchester, and divers of the neighbouring gentry."——"Though on this turning of the tide he did not only cause these doctors to be condemned for some opinions which formerly himself allowed of, but moved at the assembly in Jerusalem-chamber, that all books should be publicly burnt, which had disputed the morality of the Lord's-day Sabbath." Dr. Heylyn in The Appeal, &c. P. iii. p. 45. To the last observation Fuller replies, "I have been credibly informed that when in Jerusalem-chamber, Mr. Stephen Marshall urged most vehemently for severe punishment on the authors of those books; bishop Williams fell foul on the books, moving they might be burned, that their authors might the better escape."]

[k] [Dr. Pocklington was accused by one Harvey his parishioner for being an introducer of innovations and idolatry, and the author of the books mentioned in the text. He was condemned in the house of lords (who had now lent themselves to the popular clamor) and the following sentence was passed upon him,—passed upon him by that very parliament who restored Bastwick and his fellow libellers to their original position in society, and voted, that all the several commissioners who had passed sentence against them in a formal court of law should make them satisfaction!

These were the terms of the sentence:—1. "That the said Dr. Pocklington is prohibited from ever coming within the verges of the king's court. 2. That he is deprived of all his ecclesiastical livings, dignities and preferments. 3. That he is disabled and held incapable hereafter to hold any place or dignity in church or commonwealth. 4. That his two books be publicly burnt in the city of London, might recant seven errors in the first, four-and-twenty in the second treatise. Soon after, both the doctors deceased, for grief, say some, that they had written what they should not; for shame, say others, that they had recanted what they would not; though a third sort more charitably take notice neither of the one nor the other, but merely impute it to the approach of the time of their dissolution[1].

Superstitions charged on Dr. Cosins.

34. Doctor Cosins soon after was highly accused, for superstition and unjust proceedings against one Mr. Smart on this occasion. The doctor is charged to have set up in the church of Durham a marble altar with cherubins, which cost two thousand pounds, with all the appurtenances thereof; namely, a cope with the Trinity, and God the Father in the figure of an old man, another with a crucifix and the image of Christ, with a red beard and blue cap.

" and the two universities, by " the hand of the common ex- " ecutioners."—Nalson's Collections, i. p. 774. Had the house of lords resisted the iniquitous proceedings of the commons, they had saved the bishops, and with the bishops saved themselves. Some account of Dr. Pocklington will be found in Wood's Fasti, i. p. 166. According to Walker, who examined the church register, he died in 1641.—Sufferings of the Clergy, p. 95.

Dr. Bray, who also suffered on this occasion, was chaplain to archbishop Laud, and had been originally much inclined to puritanism. His only fault was the licensing Dr. Pocklington's books, in his capacity of chaplain to the archbishop. Yet the parliament not only sentenced him to a recantation, but shortly after deprived him of his ecclesiastical preferments. His books were seized, himself imprisoned, plundered, and forced to fly. — See Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 512. Walker's Sufferings, p. 6.]

[1] [" Dr. Pocklington lived " about two years, and Dr. Bray " above four years, with as " great cheerfulness and cou- " rage as formerly," says Dr. Heylyn, ib. p. 46.

Dr. Pocklington's pamphlet shews great ability, but is written with a keenness and smartness which were sure to bring upon him the vengeance of mean-spirited minds when once they had gained a political ascendancy.]

Besides, he was accused for lighting two hundred wax candles about the altar on Candlemas-day. For forbidding any psalms to be sung before or after sermon, though making an anthem, to be sung of the three kings of Cologne, by the names of Gasper, Balthazar, and Melchior; and for procuring a consecrated knife only to cut the bread at the communion[m].

Cruel usage of Mr. Smart.

35. Mr. Smart[n] a prebendary of the church, one of a grave aspect and reverend presence, sharply inveighed in a sermon against these innovations, taking for his text: *I hate all those that hold superstitious vanities, but thy law do I love.*

36. Hereupon he was kept prisoner four months by the high commission of York, before any articles were exhibited against him, and five months before any proctor was allowed him. Hence was he carried to the high commission at Lambeth, and after long trouble remanded to York, fined 500*l.*, committed to prison, ordered to recant, and for the neglect thereof, fined again, excommunicated, degraded, and deprived, his damage (as brought in) amounting to many thousand pounds.

Relieved by parliament.

37. But now Mr. Rous of the house of commons, bringing up the charge to the lords against doctor

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[m] [None of these charges appear in the articles exhibited in parliament against Dr. Cosins in the year 1641. His own defence of himself, which is too important to be omitted, I have printed in an appendix to this volume. See also a correct account of these proceedings in Nalson's Collections, i. p. 518.]

[n] [Of this weak and mischievous man, who afterwards distinguished himself as a witness against archbishop Laud, a short account will be found in Wood's Athen. ii. p. 21. Some extracts from this sermon have been printed in Nalson; they are too coarse and too violent to find a place here.]

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Cosins, termed Mr. Smart the "Proto-martyr of "England in these latter days of persecution," and large reparations was allowed unto him, though he lived not long after to enjoy them.

Dr. Cosins his due praise.

38. Now though none can excuse and defend doctor Cosins his carriage herein, yet this must be reported to his due commendation. Some years after getting over into France, he neither joined with the church of French protestants at Charenton nigh Paris, nor kept any communion with the papists therein, but confined himself to the church of old English protestants therein[o]. Where, by his pious

[o] [This is not altogether so. Dr. Basire in his life of bishop Cosins thus narrates these circumstances:—"One signal instance of his constancy and "courage for the Liturgy of the "Church of England may not "be omitted, that is anno 1645. "He did, with the consent of "the ministers of the reformed "church of Charenton near "Paris, solemnly, in his priestly habit, with his surplice "and with the office of burial, "used in the Church of England, inter there the body of "sir Wm. Carnaby a noble "and loyal knight, not without the troublesome contradiction and contention of the "Romish curate there. At "that time many that were "pur-blind and not able to "see the then less visible face "of the Church of England "then in the wane; a church "in the wilderness because "under persecution, when sundry were wavering from the "true religion; our bishop did "then confirm some eminent "persons against many imminent and importunate seducers (another episcopal office), which is in such ambiguous times especially *to* "*confirm the souls of the disciples, exhorting them to continue in the faith* (Tit. i. 11); "teaching *that we must through* "*much tribulation enter into* "*the kingdom of God* (Acts "xiv. 22.).

"One notable instance of "this our bishop's constancy "and zeal in this kind we may "not omit, which was a solemn "conference both by word and "writing betwixt him and the "prior of the English Benedictines at Paris supposed to "be [ ] Robinson. "The argument was concerning the validity of the ordination of our priests, &c. in "the Church of England. This "conference was undertaken "to fix a person of honour "then wavering about that "point. The sum of which "conference, as I am informed, "was written by Dr. Cosins to living, and constant praying and preaching, he reduced some recusants to, and confirmed more doubters in the protestant religion. Many his encounters with Jesuits and priests, defeating the suspicions of his foes, and exceeding the expectation of his friends, in the success of such disputes[p].

A.D. 1641. Goodman a priest bandied betwixt life and death.

39. The commons desired the lords to join with them to find out, who moved the king to reprieve John Goodman a seminary priest, who (as they said) had been twice condemned, and now the second time reprieved, whilst the parliament sat[q].

40. The king sent a message by the lord privy-seal, that Goodman was not (as the commons were informed) condemned and banished, but only sentenced for being a priest, and therefore that in reprieving him he shewed but the like mercy which queen Elizabeth and king James had shewed in the like cases.

41. The lords joined with the commons in their desire concerning Goodman, that the statutes might speedily be executed upon him, as necessary in this juncture of time, wherein papists swarmed in all parts presuming on indemnity. With what credit or comfort could they sit to enact new laws, whilst they beheld former statutes daily broken before their eyes?

42. The king acquainted the houses that though

" Dr. Morley, the now rt. rev. " lord bishop of Winchester, " in two letters bearing date, " June 11, July 11, 1645." Basire, p. 60.]

[p] [Our author in his Worthies has noticed the mistakes made in this narrative of the charges against Dr. Cosins; but for this, as well as for the bishop's own defence, the reader is referred to the Appendix.]

[q] [See Nalson's Historical Collections, i. p. 738, 739.]

queen Elizabeth and king James never condemned a priest merely for religion, yet rather than he would discontent his subjects he left him to the judgment of both houses, to be disposed of at their pleasure.

Yet he escapeth with life at last.

43. Goodman petitioned the king, that like Jonah the prophet, he might be cast into the sea, to still the tempest betwixt the king and his people, conceiving his blood well spent to cement them together. But in fine he escaped with his life, not so much by any favour indulged him, as principally because the accusations could not be so fully proved against him[r].

The first mention of the protestation.

44. About this time was the first motion of a new protestation, to be taken all over England (the copy whereof is omitted as obvious every where), which some months after was generally performed, as containing nothing but what was lawful and commendable therein. Yet some refused it, as suspecting the adding of new would substract obedience from former oaths, (men being prone to love that best which left the last relish in their souls,) and in fine such new obligations of conscience, like suckers, would draw from the stock of the old oaths of supremacy and allegiance[s].

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[r] [This letter is printed at full length in Nalson's Collections, i. 746. Though Goodman escaped this time with his life, he shortly after died in prison. See Marsys La Mort glorieuse, &c. p. 51, ed. 1646. Panzani's Memoirs, p. 282.]

[s] [Dr. Heylyn gives a fuller history of this protestation. He says, "The occasion of it "was a speech made by the "king in the house of peers "in favour of the earl of "Strafford, upon the Saturday "before; which moved them "to unite themselves by this "protestation for 'bringing to "condign punishment all such "as shall either by force, prac"tice, plots, counsels, conspira"cies or otherwise, do any "thing to the contrary of any "thing in the same protestation "contained.' Which protesta"tion being carried into the

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A committee of the lords to settle religion.

45. March began very blusteringly, on the first day whereof archbishop Laud was in Mr. Maxfield his coach carried to the Tower, and not long after the lords appointed a committee of their own members for settling of peace in the church. What hopeful opinion the aforesaid archbishop had of their proceedings, will appear by the following note which he entered into his [t]diary:

" A committee for religion settled in the upper
" house of parliament. Ten earls, ten bishops, ten
" barons. So the lay-votes will be double to the
" clergy. This committee will meddle with doctrine
" as well as ceremonies, and will call some divines
" to them to consider of the business, as appears by
" a letter hereto annexed, sent by the lord bishop of
" Lincoln to some divines, to attend this service.

" house of peers, was, after " some few days, generally taken " by that house also. But the " prevalent party in the house " of commons having further " aims than such as our author " pleaseth to take notice of, " first caused it to be printed " by an order of the 5th of " May, that they might be sent " down to the sheriffs and " justices of peace in the seve- " ral shires; to whom they " intimated, ' that as they " justified the taking of it " in themselves, so they could " not but approve it in all such " as should take it.' But " finding that this did not " much edify with the country " people, they desired the lords " to concur with them in im- " posing the same. Failing " whereof, by an order of their " own house only July 30, it " was declared, that ' the pro- " testation made by them was " fit to be taken by every per- " son that was well affected in " religion and to the good of " the commonwealth; and " therefore what persons so- " ever did not take the same, " was unfit to bear office in the " church or commonwealth.' " Which notwithstanding, many " refused to take it, as our " author telleth us, not know- " ing but that some sinister " use might be made thereof; " as afterwards appeared by " those *rites* and *protestations* " which conducted some of the " five members to the house of " commons." See the Appeal, P. iii. p. 47.]

[t] March 15, p. 24=61. [See Laud's Diary, p. 61.]

"Upon the whole matter, I believe this committee "will prove the national synod of England, to the "great dishonour of this church. And what else "may follow upon it, God knoweth."

A sub-committee for the same purpose.

46. At the same time the lords appointed a sub-committee, to prepare matters fit for their cognizance (the bishop of Lincoln having the chair in both), authorized to call together divers bishops and divines, to consult together for correction of what was amiss, and to settle peace, viz.

[u] The archbishop of Armagh [Jas. Usher].
The bishop of Durham [Thos. Morton].
The bishop of Exeter [Jos. Hall].
Doctor Samuel Ward[x].
Doctor John Prideaux[y].
Doctor William Twisse[z].
Doctor Robert Sanderson[a].
Doctor Daniel Featley[b].
Doctor Ralph Brownrigg[c].
Doctor Richard Holdsworth[d].
Doctor John Hacket[e].
Doctor Cornelius Burges[f].
Master John White[g].
Master Stephen Marshall.
Master Edmund Calamy.
Master Thomas Hill.

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[u] More were named, but these chiefly were present. [See their names at length in Kennet, iii. p. 105. Compare also Plume's Life of Hacket, p. xvi., and Hacket's Life of Williams, ii. p. 146.]

[x] [Professor of divinity in the university of Cambridge, and archdeacon of Taunton.]

[y] [Professor of divinity, and vice-chancellor in the university of Oxford.]

[z] [The celebrated defender of superlapsarianism.]

[a] [Afterwards bishop of Lincoln.]

[b] [A witness against Laud.]

[c] [Afterwards bishop of Exeter; a good but a weak man; at this time archdeacon of Coventry.]

[d] [Vice-chancellor of the University of Cambridge, and archdeacon of Huntingdon.]

[e] [Afterwards the good bishop of Lichfield, and restorer of its cathedral; at this time archdeacon of Bedford.]

[f] [A railer against bishops, afterwards a purchaser of bishops' lands.]

[g] [The author of A Century of Malignant Priests, omitted by Hacket. The three others, Marshall, Calamy, and Hill, were concerned in writing Smectymnuus.]

Jerusalem-chamber in the dean of Westminster's[h] house was the place of their meeting (where they had solemn debates six several days), always entertained at his table with such bountiful cheer as well became a bishop. But this we behold as the last course of all public episcopal treatments, whose guests may now even put up their knives, seeing soon after the voider was called for, which took away all bishops' lands, and most of English hospitality.

They consult on innovations in doctrine.

47. First they took the innovations of doctrine into consideration, and here some complained, that all the tenets of the Council of Trent had (by one or other) been preached and printed, abating only such points of state popery against the king's supremacy, made treason by the statute. Good works co-causes with faith, in justification: private confession, by particular enumeration of sins, needful *necessitate medii* to salvation, that the oblation (or, as others, the consumption) of the elements, in the Lord's Supper, holdeth the nature of a true sacrifice, prayers for the dead, lawfulness of monastical vows, the gross substance of Arminianism, and some dangerous points of Socinianism.

And in discipline.

48. Secondly, they inquired into præter-canonical conformity, and innovations in discipline. Advancing candlesticks in parochial churches in the daytime, on the altar so called. Making canopies over, with traverses of curtains (in imitation of the vail before the holy of holies) on each side and before it. Having a credentia or side-table (as a chapel of ease, to the mother altar) for divers uses in the Lord's Supper. Forbidding a direct prayer before sermon, and min-

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[h] [Bishop Williams.]

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isters to expound the Catechism at large to their parishioners, carrying children (when baptized) to the altar so called, and there offering them up to God, pretending for some of these innovations the Injunctions and Advertisements of queen Elizabeth, which are not in force, and appertaining to the printed Liturgy, *secundo et tertio Edvardi sexti*, which is reformed by parliament.

And concerning the Common Prayer.

49. Thirdly, they consulted about the Common Prayer Book, whether some legendary and some much doubted saints, with some superstitious memorials, were not to be expunged the calendar[i]. Whether it was not fit that the lessons should be only out of canonical scripture, the epistles, gospels, psalms, and hymns, to be read in the new translation, &c. Whether times prohibited for marriage are not totally to be taken away. Whether it were not fit that hereafter none should have a license, or have their banns of matrimony asked, save such who should bring a certificate from their minister, that they were instructed in their Catechism. Whether the rubric is not to be mended, altered and explained in many particulars.

And regulation of government.

50. Lastly, they entered on the regulating of ecclesiastical government, which was not brought in, because the bishop of Lincoln had undertaken the draught thereof, but not finished it, as employed at the same time in the managing of many matters of state: so easy it is for a great person never to be at leisure to do what he hath no great mind should be done.

Divers opinions what

51. Some are of opinion that the moderation and

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[i] This I did write out of the private notes of one of the committee.

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this conference might have produced.

mutual compliance of these divines might have produced much good, if not interrupted, conceiving such lopping might have saved the felling of episcopacy. Yea they are confident, had this expedient been pursued and perfected,

Trojaque nunc stares, Priamique arx alta maneres.

Troy still had stood in power,
And king Priam's lofty tower
Had remained at this hour:

it might, under God, have been a means, not only to have checked, but choked our civil war in the infancy thereof. But the court prelates expected no good from the result of this meeting, suspecting the doctrinal puritans (as they nicknamed them), joined with the disciplinary puritans, would betray the church betwixt them. Some hot spirits would not have one ace of episcopal power or profit abated, and (though since confuted by their own hunger) preferred no bread before half a loaf. These maintained that any giving back of ground was in effect the granting of the day to the opposite party, so covetous they be to multiply their cravings, on the others' concessions. But what the issue of this conference concluded would have been, is only known to Him who knew what [k]*the men of Keilah would do*, and whose prescience extends, not only to things future, but futurable, having the certain cognizance of contingents, which might, yet never actually shall, come to pass[l].

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[k] 1 Sam. xxiii. 12.

[l] [The presbyterian party broke it off for fear that they should not accomplish what they desired, the utter abolition of episcopacy. It had been their policy throughout publicly to ask but little, and when that little was like to be granted them, to use all kinds of intrigues to prevent it, without appearing to stir in the

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Broken off.

52. This consultation continued till the middle of May, and the weaving thereof was fairly forward on the loom, when *atropos occat*, the bringing in the bill against deans and chapters, root and branch, cut off all the threads, putting such a distance betwixt the foresaid divines, that never their judgments (and scarce their persons) met after together.

The death of bishop Davenant.

53. In the midst of these troublesome times, John Davenant bishop of Salisbury ended his life. His father was a wealthy and religious citizen of London, but born at Davenant's-lands in Sible Hedingham in Essex; where his ancestors had continued in a worshipful degree from sir John Davenant, who lived in the time of king Henry the Third. He bred his son a fellow commoner in Queen's College in Cambridge, and would not suffer him to accept a fellowship, though offered, as conceiving it a bending of these places from the direct intent of the founders, when they are bestowed on such as have plenty. Though indeed such preferments are appointed, as

matter. So on this occasion they wanted not peace, they desired not unity, it suited their purpose with the people of England to appear moderate and conciliating, but nothing was further from their thoughts. When therefore there was a probability of some concessions being made, and so the grounds of their discontent would have been removed, they got sir Edward Deering to propose the bill of "The Root and Branch." Of their most unscrupulous recourse to "lies and hypocrisy" on these occasions, Dr. Baillie, their agent, gives many lamentable instances; and it is strange to see how such a man could approve, and even take part in them apparently, without any scruple of conscience. His 27th letter is a very instructive one, in which he describes the dangerous game which they had to play, to gain the rabble of London and their money by demanding the abolition of episcopacy, and yet at the same time to make it appear to the moderate party among the lords, whom they wished to conciliate, that they had no such design in reality. Alas! a little more firmness on the part of the king had saved him from all his misfortunes.]

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well for the reward of those that are worthy, as the relief of those that want: and after his father's death he was chosen into that society. In his youthful exercises, he gave such an earnest of his future maturity, that Dr. Whitaker, hearing him dispute, said, "that he would in time prove the honour of the "university." A prediction that proved not untrue; when afterward he was chosen Margaret professor of divinity, being as yet but a private fellow of the college. Whereof some years after he was made master, and at last bishop of Salisbury. Where with what gravity and moderation he behaved himself, how humble, hospitable, painful in preaching and writing, may better be reported hereafter, when his memory (green as yet) shall be mellowed by time. He sat bishop about twenty years, and died of a consumption anno 1641, to which, sensibleness of the sorrowful times (which he saw were bad, and foresaw would be worse) did contribute not a little. I cannot omit, how some few hours before his death, having lien for a long time (though not speechless, yet) not speaking, nor able to speak, (as we beholders thought, though indeed he hid that little strength we thought he had lost, and reserved himself for purpose,) he fell into a most emphatical prayer for half a quarter of an hour. Amongst many heavenly passages therein, he thanked God for this his fatherly correction, because in all his lifetime he never had one heavy affliction, which made him often much suspect with himself, whether he was a true child of God or no, until this his last sickness. Then he sweetly fell asleep in Christ, and so we softly draw the curtains about him[m].

[m] [See Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 281. He died April 20, 1641.]

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Deans and chapters first opposed by parliament.

54. The whole bodies of cathedral churches, being of too great a bulk to be blown up by their adversaries at once, they began with the quires, accusing the members thereof for useless and unprofitable. The prelatical court clergy were not so active and diligent in defending these foundations, as it was expected from their interest and relations[n]. Whether because they were disheartened at the imprisonment of their chief the archbishop of Canterbury, or because some of them being otherwise obnoxious to the parliament were loath therein to appear; or because they vainly hoped that this heat once over, all things would continue in their pristine condition; or because they were loath to plead in that suit, wherein they despaired to prevail, as foreseeing those places destined to dissolution.

An unjust charge.

55. Yet some of the same side causelessly complained of the backwardness of other moderate cathedral men, that they improved not their power

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[n] [This supineness (if such conduct deserves this name) was not more remarkable in the "prelatical court clergy," as Fuller odiously calls them, than it was in the clergy in general; Laud and Wrenn were in custody, Montague dying of an ague which carried him off about this time, Manwaring disabled from sitting in the house by a censure passed on him some time before. These as they were the ablest prelates, so were they of undoubted courage. But these had been removed to make safer way for the tyranny of the commons. Far more surprising is it that parliament should have resolved this same year, "that the clergy "of England convented in any "convocation, or synod, or "otherwise, have no power to "make any constitutions, ca-"nons or acts whatsoever in "matters of doctrine, disci-"pline or otherwise to bind "the clergy or laity of this "land without common con-"sent in parliament;" and yet no one exclaimed against this usurpation. Nor must the clergy be blamed as if they were singular in this respect: the judges submitted with equal supineness to the interference of the commons in their jurisdiction, and were as tame and as abject as others. To say

with their parliament friends so zealously as they might in this cause, as beginning too late, and proceeding too lazily therein, who should sooner have set their shoulders and backs to those tottering quires, so either to support them, or to be buried under the ruins thereof. Whereas they did whatsoever good men could, or wise men would do in their condition, leaving no stone unturned which might advantage them herein.

The cathedral men endeavour to preserve their foundations.

56. Indeed it was conceived inconsistent with their gravity, to set themselves to fight against the shadow of common rumour, (and so to feign an enemy to themselves,) whilst as yet no certainty of the parliament's intentions to destroy deans and chapters. What had this been but perchance to put that into their brains, which otherwise they charitably believed would not enter therein? But no sooner were they certified of the reality of their design, but they vigorously in their callings endeavoured the prevention thereof:

that no man possessed either sufficient courage or principle to resist these instances of illegal oppression would be unfair: some such there were, but they were either paralyzed by the rapid movements of the popular party, or misled by the apparent zeal and sanctity of designing members. Great indeed was the humiliation of the church at this period of England's history, but that humiliation consisted, not so much in the loss of her temporal power, and in the success of her adversaries, as in the fact, that she had now found how little she possessed of the sympathy of the people; that the lowest and the wickedest could wound her with impunity, impeach her ceremonies, libel her bishops, blaspheme her ordinances, cry aloud for her destruction, and none came forward to defend her cause. This indeed was degradation enough; and it seems as if that degradation was needful to restore her to the affections of the nation. It was a degradation, but that out of which she came not merely unscathed but brighter and stronger, a probation which will be and has been a tower of strength to her ever since, and a lesson of wisdom if it be used aright.]

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By appointing one in each cathedral church to solicit their friends on this behalf.

By drawing up a petition (the same *mutatis mutandis*) to house of lords and commons, which (because never formally presented) I forbear to insert.

By retaining and instructing learned counsel to move for them in the house. Until they were informed that the orders of the house would not bear any to plead for them, but that they must personally appear and *viva voce* plead for themselves.

Dr. Hacket's speech in the defence of deans and chapters.

57. Lest therefore their longer silence should by posterity be interpreted, either sullenness that they would not, or guiltiness that they durst not, speak for themselves, by their friends they obtained leave to be admitted into the house of commons, and to be heard what they could allege in their own behalf. They made choice of Dr. John Hacket, prebendary of Paul's, and archdeacon of [Bedford], to be the mouth in the behalf of the rest. The brief heads of whose speech, copied (by his leave) out of his own papers, are here inserted[o].

58. First he craved the favour of that honourable house, to whom he was to speak on a double disadvantage. One caused from the shortness of time, this employment being imposed on him but in the afternoon of the day before. The other because he had not heard what crimes or offences were charged on deans and chapters (that so he might purge them from such imputations), reports only flying abroad that they were accounted of some of no use and convenience; the contrary whereof he should endeavour to prove, reducing the same to two heads,

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[o] [Printed at full length by Dr. Plume, in his Life, p. xviii. He had but one night to prepare himself.]

quoad res, et quoad personas, in regard of things of great moment, and divers persons concerned in such foundations. A.D. 1641. 16 Chas. I.

59. To the first. It is fit that to supply the defects of prayer committed by private men, the public duty thereof should be constantly performed in some principal place (in imitation of the primitive practice) and this is daily done in cathedral churches. And whereas some complain that such service gives offence for the super-exquisiteness of the music therein (so that what was intended for devotion vanished away into quavers and air), he, with the rest of his brethren there present, wished the amendment thereof, that it might be reduced to the form which Athanasius commends, *ut legentibus sint quam cantantibus similiores.* And here he spake much in praise of the church music, when moderated to edification.

60. Hence he passed to what he termeth the other wing of the cherubin, which is preaching, first planted since the reformation in cathedral churches, as appears by the learned sermons which Dr. Alley (afterwards bishop of Exeter) preached in the church of St. Paul's, and since continued therein. Where by the way he took occasion to refel that slander, which some cast on lecture preachers as an upstart corporation, alleging that the local statutes of most or all cathedral churches do require lectures on the week days. And in the name of his brethren he requested that honourable house, that the godly and profitable performance of preaching might be the more exacted.

61. In the third place he insisted on the advancement of learning, as the proper use and convenience

A.D. 1641. 16 Chas. I. of cathedrals, each of them being a small academy, for the champions of Christ his cause against the adversary by their learned pens. Here he proffered to prove by a catalogue of their names and works, which he could produce, that most excellent labours in this kind (excepting some few) have proceeded from persons preferred in cathedrals or the universities. Now what a disheartening would it be to young students, if such promotions were taken away, witness the fewness of such admitted this last year into the universities, and the deadness of the sale of good books in St. Paul's churchyard, merely upon a timorous imagination abroad, that we are now shutting up learning in a case and laying it aside. But if the bare threatening make such a stop in literature, what will the blow given do thereon?

62. Fourthly, he alleged that the ancient and genuine use of deans and chapters was, as *senatus episcopi*, to assist the bishop in his jurisdiction. Now whereas some of his reverend brethren had lately complained, that bishops have for many years usurped the sole government to themselves, and their consistories, the continuing of chapters rightly used would reduce it from one man to a plurality of assistants.

63. Lastly, the structures themselves should (said he) speak for the structures. Not that he would have them with Christ's disciples fondly to admire the fabrics, but to put them in remembrance, that cathedral churches were the first monuments of Christianity in the kingdom.

64. From things he passed to persons, and began with the multitude of such members as had maintenance from cathedrals, (some one of them allowing

livelihood to three hundred, and) the total amounting to many thousands. All which by the dissolutions of deans and chapters must be exposed to poverty. Next he instanced in their tenants, who holding leases from deans and chapters are sensible of their own happiness, (as enjoying six parts of seven in pure gain,) and therefore have petitioned the house to continue their ancient landlords. Thirdly, such cities wherein cathedrals stand, (if maritime,) being very poor in trade, are enriched by the hospitality of the clergy, and the frequent resort of strangers unto them.

65. Then proceeded he to speak of the branches of the whole kingdom, all being in hope to reap benefit by the continuance of deans and chapters' lands as now employed. For all men (said he) are not born elder brothers, nor all elder brothers inheritors of land. Divers of low degree, but generous spirits, would be glad to advance themselves, and achieve an estate by qualifying themselves, by industry and virtue, to attain a share of cathedral endowments, as the common possession of the realm, inclosed in no private men's estate.

66. And whereas travellers inform them, that all ranks and degrees of people in England, (knights, gentlemen, yeomen,) live more freely and fashionably than in any other countries, he trusted their honours would account it reasonable, that the clergy had in some sort a better maintenance than in neighbouring reformed churches, and not, with Jeroboam's priests, to be the basest of all the people.

67. Then did he instance in some famous protestants of foreign parts, who had found great relief and comfort by being installed prebendaries in our

A.D. 1641. 16 Chas. I. cathedral and collegiate churches[o], as Dr. Saravia, preferred by queen Elizabeth, Dr. Casaubon (father and son) by king James, Dr. Primrose, Mr. Vossius, in the reign of king Charles, and Dr. Peter Moulin alive at this day, and who intended to leave Sedan, (if the warlike preparations there proceeded,) and come over into England, where he should have but sad welcome if all his livelihood were taken away from him.

68. Nor could an act be done more to gratify the church of Rome than to destroy deans and chapters, seeing [p]Sanders himself seemeth to complain, that queen Elizabeth had left provosts, deans, canons and prebendaries in cathedral and collegiate churches, because he foresaw such foundations would conduce to the stability of religion, so that by his words, a fatter sacrifice could not be offered up to such as himself than the extirpation of them.

69. He went forwards to shew the benefit the king and commonwealth reaped by such lands as paying greater sums to the exchequer for first fruits tenths and subsidies, according to the proportion, than any other estates and corporations in the kingdom; and are ready (said he), if called upon, cheerfully to contribute in an extraordinary manner to the charge of the kingdom.

70. Now as he was by their honours' favour admitted to plead under that roof, where their noble

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[o] [Of whom those who were alive at this time shewed their gratitude by holding their peace in the dangers of the church, satisfied with their own safety, Vossius particularly, "for fear "of the parliament, and of "losing his prebend at Canter"bury, which king Charles the "First conferred upon him "with great liberality." Plume's Life of Hacket, p. xxv.]

[p] De schismate Anglicano, p. 163.

progenitors had given to the clergy so many charters, privileges, and immunities, so he implored to find the ancient and honourable justice of the house unto his brethren who were not charged, much less convicted of any scandalous faults, justly for the same to forfeit their estates.

71. At last he led them to the highest degree of all considerations, viz. the honour of God, to whose worship and service such fabrics and lands were dedicated, and barred all alienation with (which he said is *tremenda vox*) curses and imprecations; he minded them of the censers of Korah and his complices, pronounced hallowed[q], because pretended to do God service therewith. And lest any should wave this as a Levitical nicety, it was proverbial divinity, as a received rule in every man's mouth: *It is a snare to a man that devoureth that which is holy*[r]. He added the smart question of St. Paul, *Thou that abhorrest idols, dost thou commit sacrilege?* and concluded, that on the ruins of the rewards of learning no structure can be raised but ignorance, and upon the chaos of ignorance nothing can be built but profaneness and confusion.

The speech well accepted.

72. This his speech was uttered with such becoming gravity, that it was generally well resented, and wrought much on the house for the present, so that had the aliening of such lands been then put to the vote, some (who conceived themselves knowing of the sense of the house) concluded it would have been carried on the negative by more than six score suffrages[s].

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[q] Numbers xvi. 38.

[r] Proverbs xx. 25.

[s] [Dr. Plume says that in the first instance it was actually thrown out: "In the after-"noon it was put to the ques-

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Dr. Burges his speech against deans and chapters.

73. In the afternoon Dr. Cornelius Burges, as speaker for his party, made a vehement invective against deans and chapters, and the unprofitableness of such corporations. He heavily aggravated the debauchedness of singing-men, not only useless, but hurtful by their vicious conversations. Yet he concluded with the utter unlawfulness to convert such endowments to any private persons' profit. So that the same doctrine was delivered by both the doctors, only they differed in their applications, the former being for the continuing such lands to their ancient, the latter for diverting them to other, but neither for alienating them from public and pious employments[t].

His ability in casuistical divinity.

74. If since Dr. Burges hath been a large purchaser of such lands to himself; if since St. Andrew[u], the first converted, and St. Paul, the last converted

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"tion, and carried by many "votes, that their revenues "should not be taken away; "yet not long after, in the same "session, after a most unparlia-"mentary manner, they put it "to a second vote, and without "a second hearing voted the "contrary." Life of Hacket, p. xxv.]

[t] [There was a deeper motive at bottom for suppressing cathedral endowments; at least with the lower orders. To keep the king in good temper, the Puritans had persuaded the commons to grant him tonnage and poundage for three years; but not to burthen the people, and so become unpopular, they determined to raise a fund for the expenses of the nation out of the revenues of the cathedrals. "The scaffolds in "Westminster Hall" (says Baillie) "are now ready—"Monday is the first day of "Strafford's cause. Some think "his process will be short. To "mollify the king, they have "given him, the other day, the "tonnage and poundage for the "next three years, and some "three subsidies, which with "the former make nine. The "stop of trade here, through "men's unwillingness to venture these three or four years "bygone, has made this people "much poorer than ordinary. "They will be no ways able to "bear their burthen if the ca-"thedrals fail not." Lett. xxvii. P. S. See also Lett. xxv.]

[u] Wells and London.

apostle, have met in his purse, I doubt not but that he can give sufficient reason for the same, both to himself and any other that shall question him therein. The rather because lately he read his learned lectures in St. Paul's on the Criticisms of Conscience, no less carefully than curiously weighing satisfaction to scruples, and if there be any fault, so able a confessor knows how to get his absolution[x].

A medley bill against bishops partly granted, partly denied.

75. A bill brought up from the commons to the lords against bishops and clergymen, which, having several branches, was severally voted.

i. That they should have no votes in parliament.

ii. That they should not be in the commission of the peace, nor judges in temporal courts.

iii. Nor sit in the Star-chamber, nor be privy counsellors.

The two last branches of this bill passed by general consent, not above two dissenting. But the first branch was voted in the negative, wherein all the bishops gave their own voices for themselves; yet, had their suffrages been secluded, and the question only put to the lay lords, it had been carried for the bishops by sixteen decisive[y].

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[x] [He was afterwards so large a purchaser of the bishops' lands, that a little before the Restoration he was offered 20,000*l.* for his bargain, which he refused. To justify his conduct, he put forth a tract entitled, "No Sacrilege nor Sin "to alien or purchase the "Lands of Bishops or others "whose offices are abolished." Lond. 1659; and a shuffling apology which he styled, "A "Case concerning the Buying "of Bishops' Lands with the "Lawfulness thereof. And the "Difference between the Con"tractors for Sale of those "Lands and the Corporation of "Wells, (ordered, anno 1650, "to be repaid to the then par"liament,) with the Necessity "thereof since fallen on Dr. "Burges. Lond. 1659. In "two parts." After the Restoration, when his ill-gotten possessions reverted to their rightful owners, this man was reduced to great distress, the anguish of which was augmented by a terrible disease. And being reduced to the last extremity, he who had once possessed more influence over a factious house of commons than ever was possessed by Laud in the upper house, was compelled to sell his books for his support, and was (to use his own words) reduced to want a piece of bread. He died in obscurity in 1665. See Wood's Athen. ii. p. 347, and Fuller's "Appeal" &c. at the conclusion.]

At last wholly cast out.

76. After some days' debate, the lords who were against the bishops protested that the former manner of voting the bill by branches was unparliamentary and illegal; wherefore they moved the house that they should be so joined together as either to take the bill in wholly or cast it all out. Whereupon the whole bill was utterly cast out by many voices, had not the bishops (as again they did) given their suffrages in the same.

Mr. Maynard's speech against the canons.

77. Master Maynard made a speech in the committee of lords against the canons, made by the bishops in the last convocation, therein with much learning endeavouring to prove,

i. That in the Saxons' times (as Malmesbury, Hoveden, sir Henry Spelman, &c. do witness) laws and constitutions ecclesiastical had the confirmation of peers and sometimes of the people, to which great counsels our parliaments do succeed.

ii. That it appears out of the aforesaid authors and others, that there was some checking about the disuse of the general making of such church laws.

iii. That for kings to make canons without consent of parliament cannot stand, because built on a bad foundation, viz .on the pope's making canons by his sole power, so that the groundwork not being good the superstructure sinketh therewith.

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[y] [See Clarendon's Rebellion, i. p. 410.]

iv. He examined the statute 25th of Henry VIII, avouching that that clause, "The clergy shall not "make canons without the king's leave," implieth not that by his leave alone they may make them.

Lastly, He endeavoured to prove that these canons were against the king's prerogative, the rights, liberties, and properties of the subject, insisting herein on several particulars.

i. The first canon puts a penalty on such as disobey them.

ii. One of them determineth the king's power and the subject's right.

iii. It sheweth that the ordinance of kings is by the law of nature, and then they should be in all places and all alike.

iv. One of the canons saith that the king may not be resisted.

v. Another makes a holy day, whereas that the parliament saith there shall be such and no more.

This his speech lost neither life nor lustre, being reported to the lords by the bishop of Lincoln, a back friend to the canons, because made during his absence and durance in the tower.

Several judgments of the clergy's offence.

78. One in the house of commons heightened the offence of the clergy herein into treason, which their more moderate adversaries abated into a præmunire. Many much insisted on the clerks of the convocation for presuming (being but private men after the dissolution of the parliament) to grant subsidies, and so without law to give away the estates of their fellow-subjects.

A bill read against the high commission.

79. A bill was read to repeal that statute of 1 Elizabeth whereby the high commission court is erected. This bill afterwards forbade any archbishop,

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bishop, &c., deriving power from the king to assess, or inflict any pain, penalty, amercement, imprisonment, or corporal punishment for any ecclesiastical offence or transgression. Forbidding them likewise to administer the oath *ex officio,* or give oath to churchwardens, sidesmen, or any others, whereby their own or others' offences should be discovered.

SECT. IX.

DIGNISSIMO

DOM. THOMAE FISHER,

BARONETTO[a].

Cum insignia tua gentilitia intueor, non sum adeo heraldicæ artis ignarus, quin probe sciam, quid sibi velit manus illa, scutello inserta.

Te scilicet baronettum designat, cum omnes in illum ordinem cooptati, ex institutione sua, ad[b] *Ultoniam, (Hiberniæ provinciam,) forti dextra defendendam teneantur.*

At censum (præter hunc vulgarem) alium latiorem, et (quoad meipsum) lætiorem, manui illi expansæ, quæ in tuo clypeo spectabilis, subesse video. Index est summæ tuæ munificentiæ, quo nomine me tibi devinctissimum profiteor.

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The high commission court put down.

OMITTING matters of greater consequence, know that the bill against the high commission was the third time read in the house of lords and passed it, which some days after was confirmed by his majesty. Thus the edge of the spi-

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[a] [Arms. Three demi-lions rampant gules, a chief indented of the second. This sir Thomas Fisher, bart. the second of that name, was son of sir Thomas Fisher (who received his baronetcy in 1627) and Sarah, daughter of sir Thomas Fowler, bart. of Islington. He married Jane, daughter of sir J. Prescot, knt. of Hoxne, Suffolk; and died in 1670. See Lyson's Environs of London, iii. p. 153. He is sometimes described as being of St. Giles', Middlesex. The title was extinct in 1707.]

[b] Seldenus in Titulis Honoris. [p. 680. ed. 672.]

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ritual sword, as to discipline, was taken away. For although I read of a proviso made in the house of lords, that the general words in this bill should extend only to the high commission court, and not reach other ecclesiastical jurisdiction; yet that proviso being but written and the statute printed, all coercive power of church consistories was taken away. Mr. Pym triumphed at this success, crying out, *Digitus Dei*, "It is the finger of God," that the bishops should so supinely suffer themselves to be surprised in their power. Some disaffected to episcopacy observed a justice, that seeing many simple souls were in the high commission court by captious interrogatories circumvented into a self-accusation, an unsuspected clause in this statute should abolish all their lawful authority.

A bill for regulation of bishops.

2. The bishop of Lincoln brought up a bill to regulate bishops and their jurisdiction, consisting of several particulars:

i. That every bishop being in his diocese not sick, should preach once every Lord's day, or pay five pounds to the poor, to be levied by the next justice of peace, and distress made by the constable.

ii. That no bishop shall be justice of peace, save the dean of Westminster in Westminster and St. Martin's.

iii. That every bishop should have twelve assistants, (besides the dean and chapter,) four chosen by the king, four by the lords, and four by the commons, for jurisdiction and ordination.

iv. That in all vacancies they should present to the king three of the ablest divines in the diocese, out of which his majesty might choose one to be bishop.

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v. Deans and prebends to be resident at the cathedrals but sixty days.

vi. That sermons be preached therein twice every Lord's day, once every holy day, and a lecture on Wednesday with a salary of one hundred marks.

vii. All archbishops, bishops, collegiate churches, &c. to give a fourth part of their fines and improved rents, to buy out impropriations.

viii. All double beneficed men to pay a moiety of their benefice to their curates.

ix. No appeal to the court of arches or audience.

x. Canons and ecclesiastical capitulations to be drawn up and fitted to the laws of the land by sixteen learned men, chosen six by the king, five by the lords, and five by the commons.

This bill was but once read in the house, and no great matter made thereof; the anti-episcopal party conceived it needless to shave their beards, whose heads they intended to cut off, designing an utter extirpation of bishops[c].

A crying sin of the English clergy.

3. By the way the mention of a moiety to the curates, minds me of a crying sin of the English clergy conceived by the most conscientious amongst them, a great incentive of divine anger against them; namely, the miserable and scandalous stipends afforded to their curates, which made laymen follow their pattern in vicarages unendowed, seeing

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[c] [This seems to have been in furtherance of a scheme which the bishop entertained at this period, of taking off the edge of Presbyterian hostility, by moderating the power of the bishops, and making some provision for "painful "preachers." "The bishop "was sure (says Williams) he "dealt with such as were bare "and necessitous, from the "Orcades to Berwick, and that "it was part of their errand "into England to carry away "gold and to get pensions." Ibid. p. 143.]

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such who knew most what belong to the work allowed the least wages to the ministry. Hence is it that God since hath changed his hand, making many who were poor curates rich rectors, and many wealthy incumbents to become poor curates. It will not be amiss to wish thankfulness without pride to the one, and patience without dejection to the other.

A bill against bishop Wren.

4. A bill was sent up by the commons against Matthew Wren, bishop of Ely, containing twenty-five articles, charging him for being popishly affected, a suppressor of preaching, and introducer of arbitrary power to the hazard of the estates and lives of many. They desired he might be sequestered from the king's person and service[d].

The bishops impeached for making of canons.

5. To return to the bishops: the commons perceiving that they were so tenacious of their votes in parliament, resolved vigorously to prosecute the impeachment against them for making of canons, expecting the bishops should willingly quit their votes as barons to be acquitted of their præmunire, whereby they forfeited all their personal estates; yet the sound of so great a charge did not so affright them but that they persisted legally to defend their innocence.

Have time and counsel allowed them.

6. The bishops that were impeached for making canons craved time till Michaelmas term to make their answer. This was vehemently opposed by some lords, and two questions were put:

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[d] [See these articles in Nalson's Collections, ii. p. 398. Though they assumed merely the form of a charge, and the bishop was never brought to his answer, yet being declared unworthy to hold any spiritual promotion or office in the church or commonwealth, he was deprived, and imprisoned in the tower until the restoration. See Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 612.]

i. Whether the bishops should sit still in the house, though without voting, (to which themselves consented,) whilst the circumstance of time for their answer was in debate.

ii. What time they should have for their answer.

The first of these was carried for them by one present voice and four proxies; and for the second, time was allowed them till the tenth of November. And although the adverse lords pleaded that in offences criminal, for matters of fact, no counsel should be allowed them, but to answer yea or no; yet on the lord keeper's affirming it ordinary and just to allow counsel in such cases, it was permitted unto them[e].

The impeachment of the bishops waved, and why.

7. Bishop Warner of Rochester[f] is chosen by joint consent to solicit the cause, sparing neither care nor cost therein. Of the counsel he retained two only appeared, sergeant Jermin, who declined to plead for them, except the bishops would first procure him a warrant from the house of commons, (which they refused to do,) and Mr. Chute, who, being demanded of the lords whether he would plead for the bishops, "Yea," said he, "so long as I have a tongue "to plead with." Soon after he drew up a demurrer in their behalf, that their offence in making canons could not amount to a præmunire; this being shewn to the bishop of Lincoln, he protested that he never saw a stronger demurrer all the days of his life, and the notice hereof to the lords was probably the cause, that they waved any further prosecution of the charge, which henceforward sunk in silence.

8. Pass we now from the outworks of espicopacy

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[e] [Rushworth, iv. 282.]

[f] [Wood's Athen. ii. p. 373.]

A.D. 1641. 16 Chas. I. (I mean the deans and chapters) thus fiercely stormed (but as yet not taken) to the bishops themselves, who began to shake, seeing their interest and respects in the house of lords did daily decay and decline. Yea, about this time came forth the lord Brooke his book against bishops, accusing them in respect of their parentage to be *de fæce populi*, "of "the dregs of the people," and in respect of their studies no way fit for government, or to be barons in parliament.

The bishops accused for mean birth.

Vindicated their parentage.

9. Whereupon the bishops, taking this accusation to heart, meet together, and in their own necessary defence thought fit to vindicate their extractions, some publicly, some in private discourse.

Dr. Williams[g] began, then archbishop of York, (Canterbury being in the tower,) was accused in the Star-chamber for purchasing the two ancientest houses and inheritances in North Wales, (which are Penrhyn and Quowilocke,) in regard he was descended from them. So that he might as truly accuse all the ancient nobility of Britain as tax him for meanly descended.

Dr. Juxon, bishop of London, did or might plead that his parents lived in good fashion, and gave him large allowance, first in the university, then in Gray's Inn, where he lived as fashionably as other gentlemen, so that the lord Brooke might question the parentage of any inns-of-court-gentleman as well as his.

Bishop Morton of Durham averred that his father had been lord mayor of York, and borne all the offices of that city with credit and honour, so that the lord Brooke might as justly quarrel the descent of any citizens' sons in England[h].

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[g] [See Hacket's Life of Williams, p. 6—7.]

Bishop Curle of Winchester his father was for many years auditor in the court of wards to queen Elizabeth and king James; and the aforesaid lord may as well condemn all the sons of officers to be meanly born as accuse him.

Bishop Cook of Hereford his father's family had continued in Derbyshire, in the same house and in the same means, four hundred years at least; often sheriffs of that county, and matched to all the best houses therein. So that the lord Brooke might as well have charged all the ancient gentry of that shire for mean parentage as accuse him.

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[h] [" His coat armour and " pedigree will shew him to be " of the same original and stock " with that eminent prelate and " wise statesman, John Morton, " bishop of Ely, and lord chancellor of England, afterward " archbishop of Canterbury and " cardinal. (See this History " under the year 1486.)—— " And from hence the judicious " reader will conclude his ancestors could not be obscure, " at least since this cardinal's " time, for such persons as he " have seldom left their kindred without some considerable preferments. If I were " so good an herald as to trace " up his pedigree to those times, " it is possible it would reach " to Thomas or John Morton, " whom the cardinal made his " heirs, as being sons to two of " his brothers, (Jo. Budden vit. " Jo. Mort. archiep. Cant. p. " 50.) Sure I am that sir " Thomas Morton of Dorsetshire, who reckoned his descent from one of them, " sought him out and acknowledged his kindred, and desired his acquaintance, presently after he appeared in " print, and long before he " ascended to any considerable " eminency in the church. His " parents were Mr. Richard " Morton, citizen and mercer, " of York, and Mrs. Elizabeth " Leedale his wife, who enriched the world with him on " Thursday, 20th of March, " 1564. His father was so " eminent in his calling, that " there is not at this day " [1660], nor hath been for " many years by-past, any mercer in that city [York] who " were not his apprentices either " immediately or mediately. " His mother also was a gentlewoman of very good family, " descended from the Valvasours by her mother's side, " and by whom not only the " Valvasours', but the Langdales also, and other gentlemen of eminent worth " in Yorkshire, acknowledged " themselves to be of his kindred." Barwick's Life of Bishop Morton, p. 61. ed. Lond. 1660.]

Bishop Owen of Asaph, that there was not a gentleman in the two counties of Carnarvon and Anglesea of three hundred pounds a year but was his kinsman, or allieman, in the fourth degree, which he thinks will sufficiently justify his parentage.

Bishop Goodman of Gloucester, that though his very name seemed to point out his descent from yeomanry, yet (though the youngest son of the youngest brother) he had more left unto him than the lord Brooke his father had to maintain him and all his family. That his grandfather by his father's side purchased the whole estate of sir Thomas Exmew, lord mayor of London 1517, and that by his mother's side he was descended of the best parentage of the city of London.

The rest of the bishops might sufficiently vindicate their parentage, as most the sons of ministers or lay gentlemen, whose extractions ran not so low as to any such feculancy charged upon them.

The degrees whereby the bishops declined in parliament.

10. But moe symptoms of their dying power in parliament daily discovered themselves, some whereof we will recount, that posterity may perceive by what degrees they did lessen in the house before they lost their votes therein.

First, Whereas it was customary that in all commissions such a number of bishops should be joined with the temporal lords, of late their due proportions were not observed.

The clerk of the parliament, applying himself to the prevalent party in the reading of bills, turned his back to the bishops, who could not (and it seems he intended they should not) distinctly hear any thing, as if their consent or dissent were little concerned therein.

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When a bill passed for exchange of lands betwixt the bishop of London and sir Nicholas Crisp, the temporal lords were offended that the bishop was styled "right honourable" therein, which at last was expunged, and he entitled "one of her majesty's "most honourable privy council," the honour being fixed upon his state employment, not episcopal function.

On a solemn fast, in their going to church, the temporal lords first took precedence of the bishops, (who quietly submitted themselves to come behind,) on the same token that one of the lay lords[i] said, "Is this a day of humiliation, wherein we shew "so much pride in taking place of those to whom "our ancestors ever allowed it?"

But the main matter was, that the bishops were denied all meddling even in the commission of preparatory examinations concerning the earl of Strafford, as *causa sanguinis*, and they, as men of mercy, not to deal in the condemnation of any person. The bishops pleaded, though it was not proper for them to condemn the guilty, yet they might acquit the innocent, and such an one as yet that earl was charitably presumed to be, until legally convicted to be otherwise[k]. They alleged also in their own behalf, that a commission was granted in the reign of queen Elizabeth to certain privy councillors, for the examination of the queen of Scots, even to her condemnation, if just cause appeared[1], and John Whitgift, archbishop of Canterbury, first named therein. All would not prevail, the bishops being forbidden any interposing in that matter.

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[i] The young lord Spencer, afterwards earl of Sunderland.

[k] [The subject has been learnedly handled by the inimitable bishop Hacket in his Life of Williams, (ii. p. 151.) By the same canon law (with which these lords played fast and loose as it served their purpose) bishops are strictly inhibited from giving testimony in causes of blood; yet the archbishops of Canterbury and Armagh, and the bishop of London, were brought forward by the house to give evidence against the earl. But what could be expected of those who

Bishops refuse willingly to resign their votes.

11. It must not be forgotten, how about this time the lord Kimbolton made a motion to persuade the bishops willingly to depart with their votes in parliament; adding, that if the same would surrender their suffrages, the temporal lords who remained in the house were obliged in honour to be more tender of and careful for the bishops' preservation in their jurisdictions and revenues. An instrument was employed by the earl of Essex, (or else he employed himself, conceiving the service acceptable,) who dealt privately with several bishops to secure themselves by prevention, to surrender that which would be taken away from them. But the bishops per-

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pulled down their king and their church, and then bowed their nobility to the mock majesty of Pym, *homo ex argilla, et luto facus Epicturæo?*]

[1] Camden's Eliz. in anno 1586. [Could there be any hypocrisy, any dishonesty more flagrant than this? When the very same parliament appointed armed chaplains to attend their armies; when it was a common practice with the Scotch and English rebels to inspire fresh courage into their soldiers by appointing ministers to preach before them on the very field of battle. "Have I not seen "them," says Hacket, "prance "about the streets in London, "with pistols in their holsters "and swords by their sides; "And so for Edge Hill, and "Newbury, &c. Could they "rush into so many fights and "be clear from cause of blood?" Life of Williams, part ii. p. 153. Baillie and Baxter, two of the most celebrated among them, speak with sufficient satisfaction of the part which they took in animating their soldiers to flesh their swords in the blood of their fellows; but the fact is too notorious to require further comment.]

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sisted in the negative, refusing by any voluntary act to be accessary to their own injury, resolving to keep possession of their votes, till a prevalent power outed them thereof[m].

Multitudes of petitions against bishops.

12. Now no day passed wherein some petition was not presented to the lords or commons from several persons against the bishops as grand grievancers, causing the general decay of trade, obstructing the proceedings in parliament, and what not. Insomuch that the very porters (as they said) were able no longer to undergo the burden of episcopal tyranny, and petitioned against it. But hitherto these were but blunt petitions, the last was a sharp

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[m] [The adviser was afterwards that earl of Manchester who plundered the universities. Nothing could exceed the miserable selfishness and cowardice of the temporal lords, on this as on other occasions; plundering the church in prosperity, and forsaking it in its adversity. With the exception of Strafford, and perhaps one or two others, not one came nobly forward in its defence, noble in nothing but their names. Their aid was like the reed, whereon if a man leans it shall even pierce through his hand; throughout the troubles of the church, the first to pierce, and then desert it. Strange does it seem, that, in this reign especially, more than all in one whose heart was truly catholic, such as Laud's, no attempt should have been made to gain the sympathies of the people, even at this last and latest hour, the only trustworthy and hearty friends of the church. "So am I full of this," (to use the words of Hacket,) "to tell it to posterity, that "the pitiful handful of lords "temporal (and now tempo- "rary) that adhered not to "the king, and cashiered the "lords spiritual out of their "society, for their immoveable "fidelity, were dismounted for "ever from their own privi- "lege and honour, and might "pawn their parliament-robes "if they pleased. And the "remainder of the commons, "after Pride's purge, was so "despicable, that every tongue "was so audacious to give "them the nickname of the "posteriors of a beast; and "they put it up, lest angry "wits should paste a greater "scorn upon them." Life of Williams, ii. 139. In its misery this church might have long looked for help from those whom she had befriended. The people restored her, and they only made her strong.]

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one (with point and edge) brought up for the same purpose by the armed apprentices.

A land-tide of apprentices flow to Westminster.

13. Now, seeing men's judgments are at such a distance about the nature of this their practice, some terming it a tumult, mutiny, riot, others calling it courage, zeal, and industry; some admiring them as acted with a public spirit above their age and education, others condemning them much, their countenancers more, their secret abettors and contrivers most of all: I say, when men are thus divided in point of judgment, it will be safest for us to confine ourselves merely to matter of fact. Wherein also we meet with much diversity of relation, though surely what a parliamentary chronicler[m] writes thereof must be believed:

"Now, see how it pleased the Lord it should "come to pass; some of the apprentices and citizens "were again affronted about Westminster Abbey, "and a great noise and hubbub fell out thereabouts. "Others some of them watched (as it seems by the "sequel) the bishops' coming to the parliament, who, "considering the great noise and disquiet which was "by land all about Westminster, durst not come to "the parliament that way for fear of the apprentices, "and therefore intended to have come to parliament "by water in barges. But the apprentices watched "them that way also; and as they thought to have "come to land, they were so pelted with stones, and "frighted at the sight of such a company of them, "that they durst not land, but were rowed back, and "went away to their places."

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[m] John Vicars, God in the Mount, or Parliamentary Chronicle, i. p. 58.

Thus the bishops were fain to shelter themselves from the shower of stones ready to fall upon them, and with great difficulty made their escape; who otherwise on St. Stephen's day had gone St. Stephen's way to their graves.

The manner of the tumult at Westminster Abbey and Whitehall belongs to the pens of state historians.

14. As for the hubbub at Westminster Abbey lately mentioned, eyewitnesses have thus informed me of the manner thereof. Of those apprentices who coming up to the parliament cried, "No bishops, "no bishops," some rudely rushing into the Abbey church, were reproved by a verger for their irreverent behaviour therein. Afterwards, quitting the church, the doors thereof by command from the dean were shut up, to secure the organs and monuments therein against the return of apprentices. For though others could not foretell the intentions of such a tumult, who could not certainly tell their own, yet the suspicion was probable, by what was uttered amongst them. The multitude presently assault the church, (under pretence that some of their party were detained therein,) and force a pane out of the north door, but are beaten back by the officers and scholars of the college. Here an unhappy tile was cast by an unknown hand from the leads or battlements of the church, which so bruised sir Richard Wiseman (conductor of the apprentices) that he died thereof, and so ended that day's distemper[n].

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[n] ["These Wat Tylers and "Round Robins," says Hacket, "being driven or persuaded "out of Whitehall, there was "a buz among them to take "their way to Westminster "Abbey. Some said, *Let us* "*pluck down the organs;* some "cried, *Let us deface the mo-* "*numents;* that is, prophane "the tombs and burying-places "of king and queens. This "was carried with all speed to "the archbishop (Williams),

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Why no more than twelve of the bishops present at the protest.

15. To return to the bishops. The next day twelve of them repaired to Jerusalem chamber, in the dean's lodgings; and if any demand where were the rest of them to make up twenty-six, take this account of their absence:

13. Dr. Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, was in the tower.

"the dean, who made fast the doors, which they found shut against them; and when they would have forced them, they were beaten off with stones from the top of the leads, the archbishop all this while maintaining the Abbey in his own person, with a few more, for fear they should seize on the *regalia*, which were in that place under his custody. The spite of the mutineers was most against him, yet his followers could not entreat him to go aside, as the disciples restrained Paul from rushing into an uproar. After an hour's dispute, when the multitude had been well pelted from aloft, a few of the archbishop's train opened a door, and rushed out with swords drawn, and drove them before them like fearful hares. They were already passed their duty, but short of their malice, and every day made battery on all the bishops as they came to parliament, forcing their coaches back, tearing their garments, menacing if they came any more.—What aid did the lords afford to quell these affronts? Why, *Let Sosthenes be beaten before the judgment seat, Gallio cares for none of these things.* Acts xviii. 17." In these tumults Morton, bishop of Durham, as well as the rest, was in great danger of his life. "I am sure," says Dr. Barwick, "there could hardly be a fitter parallel to that at Ephesus (Acts xix. 31.) than these at Westminster, in one whereof this reverend bishop was in extreme hazard of his life, by the multitude that were beckoned thither by the contrivers of our late miseries. Whereof some cried, *Pull him out of his coach:* others, *Nay, he is a good man:* others, *But for all that he is a bishop.* And I have often heard him say, he believed he should not have escaped alive, if a leading man among that rabble had not cried out, *Let him go and hang himself.* Which he was wont to compare to the words of the angel uttered by Balaam's ass; though the rudeness of the expression argued more of the ass than the angel." Life of Morton, p. 103. This graphic description clearly shews the temper and conduct of nobles as well as people at that time.]

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14. Dr. Juxon, bishop of London, was keeping his hospitality (it being Christmas) at Fulham.

15. So was Dr. Curle, at Winchester house, and it was conceived unsafe (though but cross the Thames) to send unto him.

16. So also was Dr. Warner of Rochester returned to entertain his neighbours in the country.

17. Dr. Bridgman of Chester was not as yet come out of the country.

18. Dr. Roberts of Bangor was not as yet come out of the country.

19. Dr. Manwaring, bishop of St. David's, sat not in the house, as disabled long since by his censure in parliament.

20. Dr. Duppa, bishop of Salisbury, was attending his charge, prince Charles.

21. Dr. John Prideaux was not yet consecrated bishop of Worcester.

22. Dr. Winniffe was not yet consecrated bishop of Lincoln.

23. Dr. Ralph Brownrigg was not yet consecrated bishop of Exeter.

24. Dr. Henry King was not yet consecrated bishop of Chichester.

25. Dr. John Westfield was not yet consecrated bishop of Bristol.

26. Carlisle was void by the late death of Dr. Potter, only conferred by the king on archbishop Usher to hold it *in commendam*.

Thus have we made up their numbers, and must not forget, that a secret item was given to some of the bishops by some of their well-wishers to absent themselves in this licentious time of Christmas, though they had not the happiness to make use of the advice.

The form thereof.

16. The other twelve bishops, being not yet fully recovered from their former fear, grief, and anger, (which are confessed by all to be bad counsellors in cases of importance,) drew up in haste and disturbance such a protestation, that posterity already hath had more years to discuss and examine, than they had hours (I had almost said minutes) to contrive and compose, and (most of them implicitly relying on the conceived infallibility of the archbishop of York in point of common law) all subscribed as followeth:

To the king's most excellent majesty, and the lords and peers now assembled in parliament[p].

"Whereas the petitioners are called up by several and respective writs, and under great penalties to attend the parliament, and have a clear and indubitable right to vote in bills and other matters, whatsoever debatable in parliament by the ancient customs, laws, and statutes of this realm, and ought to be protected by your majesty, quietly to attend and prosecute that great service: They humbly remonstrate, and protest before God, your majesty, and the noble lords and peers now assembled in parliament, that as they have an indubitate right to sit and vote in the house of the lords; so are they, if they may be protected from force and violence, most ready and willing to

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[p] [See Hacket's Life of Williams, ii. p. 178. The archbishop is said to have drawn this protest from a similar one which he found in the Tower. He called the bishops together, according to Dr. Hacket, and got them to put their hands to this protestation.]

"perform their duties accordingly: And that they "do abominate all actions or opinions tending to "popery and the maintenance thereof, as also all "propension and inclination to any malignant party, "or any other side or party whatsoever, to the "which their own reasons and conscience shall not "move them to adhere. But whereas they have "been at several times violently menaced, affronted, "and assaulted by multitudes of people in their "coming to perform their services in that honourable "house, and lately chased away and put in "danger of their lives, and can find no redress or "protection upon sundry complaints made to both "houses in these particulars, they humbly protest "before your majesty and the noble house of peers, "that saving unto themselves all their rights and "interest of sitting and voting in that house at other "times, they dare not sit or vote in the house of "peers, until your majesty shall further secure them "from all affronts, indignities, and dangers in the "premises. Lastly, whereas their fears are not "built upon phantasies and conceits, but upon such "grounds and objects as may well terrify men of "resolution and much constancy, they do in all "humility and duty protest before your majesty and "peers of that most honourable house of parliament, "against all laws, orders, votes, resolutions, and "determinations, as in themselves null and of none "effect, which in their absence, since the 27th of "this instant month of December 1641, have already "passed, as likewise against all such as shall "hereafter pass in that most honourable house, "during the time of this their forced and violent "absence from the said most honourable house: not

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"denying, but if their absenting of themselves were "wilful and voluntary, that most honourable house "might proceed in all their premises, their absence "or this protestation notwithstanding. And humbly "beseeching your most excellent majesty to command the clerk of that house of peers to enter "this their petition and protestation among his "records,

"They will ever pray God to bless, &c.

"John Eborac.	Geo. Heref.
"Tho. Duresme.	Robt. Oxon.
"Ro. Co. & Lich.	Ma. Ely.
"Jos. Norw.	Godfr. Glouc.
"Jo. Asaph.	Jo. Petroburg.
"Guli. Ba. & Wells.	Maur. Landav.[q]"

This instrument they delivered to archbishop Williams, who, according to their desire, his own counsel and promise, at the next opportunity presented it to his majesty.

The bishops impeached of high treason.

17. His majesty would not meddle therewith in this dangerous juncture of time, (his great council then sitting,) but wholly remitted the matter to the parliament. The next morning a privy councillor brought this protestation into the house, at the reading whereof the anti-episcopal party much triumphed that the bishops had gratified them with such an advantage against themselves, which their adversaries might wish, but durst not hope for heretofore. A conference is desired with the commons in the painted chamber, and therein concluded, that

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[q] [Williams gave it to lord keeper Littleton to present to the king. And Hacket insinuates, that the lord keeper intentionally presented it at such a time to the king, when he thought it would be unfavourably received and produce most mischief. Life of Williams, p. 178.]

the bishops should be impeached of high treason, for endeavouring to subvert the fundamental laws of the land, and the very being of parliaments [r].

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And committed to the Tower.

18. Hereupon the next day the twelve subscribers were voted to be committed to the Tower, save that bishop Morton, of Durham, and Dr. Wright, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, found some favour, partly in respect of their old age, and partly in regard of the great good they had done with their pens and preaching to the church of God: so that they alone were sent to the custody of the black rod. The rest being brought into the Tower, had that honour granted them in the prison which was denied them in the parliament, to be esteemed equal with, yea above, temporal lords, as appeared by the fees demanded of them; though in fine sir John Byron, lieutenant of the Tower, proved very courteous in removing the rigour thereof. The archbishop of Canterbury, by a civil message, excused himself for not conversing with them, because he was committed on a different account from them, and probably they might mutually fare the worse for any intercourse. And here we leave them prisoners for eighteen weeks together, and proceed.

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[r] ["That day" (says Hacket) "it broke forth that the largest "part of the lords were fermentated with an anti-episcopal sourness. If they had "loved that order, they would "never have doomed them to "a prison, and late at night, "in bitter frost and snow, upon "no other charge but that they "presented their mind in a "most humble paper to go "abroad in safety. Here was "no sign of any filial respect "to their spiritual fathers. "Nothing was offered to the "peers, but the substance was "reason, the style lowly, the "practice ancient; yet upon "their pleasure, without debate of the cause, the bishops "are packed away the same "night to keep their Christmas "in durance and sorrow." Hacket's Williams, ii. 179.]

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Viscount Newark his two speeches in the behalf of bishops.

19. Now was the bill against the bishops' sitting in parliament brought up into the house of lords, and the matter agitated with much eagerness on both sides. Amongst those who sided with them, none appeared in print more zealous than the lord viscount Newark, (afterward earl of Kingston, &c.[s]) whose two speeches in parliament, although spoken some months[t] before, yet for the entireness of the history may now seasonably be inserted[u].

"I shall take the boldness to speak a word or "two upon this subject, first as it is in itself, then as "it is in the consequence: for the former, I think "he is a great stranger in antiquity, that is not well "acquainted with that of their sitting here they "have done thus, and in this manner, almost since "the conquest; and by the same power and the "same right the other peers did, and your lordships "now do; and to be put from this their due, so "much their due by so many hundred years, "strengthened and confirmed, and that without any "offence, nay, pretence of any, seems to me to be "very severe; if it be *jus*, I dare boldly say it is "*summum*. That this hinders their ecclesiastical "vocation, an argument I hear much of, hath in my "apprehension more of shadow than substance in it: "if this be a reason, sure I am it might have been "one six hundred years ago.

"A bishop, my lords, is not so circumscribed "within the circumference of his diocese, that his "sometimes absence can be termed, no not in the

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[s] [Robert Pierrepoint, created earl of Kingston in 1628. See his character in Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 434. See also this History, i. 125.]

[t] The first May 21, the second May 24, anno 1641.

[u] [See Nalson's Collections, ii. p. 251.]

" most strict sense, a neglect or hinderance of his " duty, no more than that of a lieutenant from his " county; they both have their subordinate min- " isters, upon which their influences fall, though the " distance be remote.

" Besides, my lords, the lesser must yield to the " greater good; to make wholesome and good laws " for the happy and well regulating of church and " commonwealth, is certainly more advantageous to " both, than the want of the personal execution of " their office, and that but once in three years, and " then peradventure but a month or two, can be " prejudicial to either. I will go no further to " prove this, which so long experience hath done so " fully, so demonstratively.

" And now, my lords, by your lordships' good " leave, I shall speak to the consequence as it " reflects both on your lordships and my lords the " bishops. Dangers and inconveniences are ever " best prevented *e longinquo;* this precedent comes " near to your lordships, the bill indeed hath a " direct aspect only upon them, but an oblique one " upon your lordships, and such a one, that *mutato* " *nomine de vobis.* Pretences are never wanting, " nay, sometimes the greatest evils appear in the " most fair and specious outsides; witness the ship- " money, the most abominable, the most illegal " thing that ever was, and yet this was painted over " with colour of the law; what bench is secure, if " to allege be to convince, and which of your lord- " ships can say that he shall continue a member of " this house, when at one blow six and twenty are " cut off? It then behoves the neighbour to look " about him, *cum proximus ardet Ucalegon.*

“And for the bishops, my lords, in what condition “will you leave them? The house of commons “represents the meanest person, so did the master “his slave; but they have none to do so much for “them, and what justice can tie them to the ob-“servation of those laws, to whose constitution they “give no consent? The wisdom of former times “gave proxies unto this house merely upon this “ground, that every one might have a hand in the “making of that which he had an obligation to “obey: this house could not represent, therefore “proxies in room of persons were most justly “allowed.

“And now, my lords, before I conclude, I beseech “your lordships to cast your eyes upon the church, “which I know is most dear and tender to your “lordships; you will see her suffer in her most prin-“cipal members, and deprived of that honour which “here and throughout all the Christian world ever “since Christianity she constantly hath enjoyed; “for what nation or kingdom is there in whose “great and public assemblies, and that from her “beginning, she had not some of hers, if I may not “say as essential, I am sure I may say as integral “parts thereof? and truly, my lords, Christianity “cannot alone boast of this, or challenge it only as “hers, even heathenism claims an equal share.

“I never read of any of them, civil or barbarous, “that gave not due honour to their religion, so that “it seems to me to have no other original, to flow “from no other spring, than nature itself.

“But I have done, and will trouble your lord-“ships no longer; how it may stand with the “honour and justice of this house to pass this bill, "I most humbly submit unto your lordships, the "most proper and only judges of them both."

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His second speech [x].

"I shall not speak to the preamble of the bill, "that bishops and clergymen ought not to intermeddle in temporal affairs. For truly, my lords, "I cannot bring it under any respect to be spoken "of. *Ought* is a word of relation, and must either "refer to human or divine law: to prove the lawfulness of their intermeddling by the former, would "be to no more purpose, than to labour to convince "that by reason which is evident to sense. It is "by all acknowledged. The unlawfulness by the "latter the bill by no means admits of, for it excepts universities and such persons as shall have "honour descend upon them. And your lordships "know that circumstance and chance alter not the "nature and essence of a thing, nor can except any "particular from an universal proposition by God "himself delivered. I will therefore take these two "as granted, first that they ought by our law to "intermeddle in temporal affairs; secondly, that "from doing so they are not inhibited by the law "of God, it leaves it at least as a thing indifferent. "And now, my lords, to apply myself to the business "of the day, I shall consider the conveniency, and "that in the several habitudes thereof. But very "briefly; first in that which it hath to them merely "as men, *qua tales:* then as parts of the common-"weal: thirdly, from the best manner of constituting laws: and lastly, from the practice of all "times both Christian and heathen.

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[x] [See Nalson, ibid. p. 252.]

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"*Homo sum, nihil humanum a me alienum puto,* "was indeed the saying of the comedian, but it "might well have become the mouth of the greatest "philosopher. We allow to sense all the works "and operations of sense, and shall we restrain "reason? Must only man be hindered from his "proper actions? They are most fit to do reasonable "things that are most reasonable. For science "commonly is accompanied with conscience; so is "not ignorance: they seldom or never meet. And "why should we take that capacity from them "which God and nature have so liberally bestowed?

"My lords, the politic body of the commonwealth "is analogical to the body natural: every member "in that contributes something to the preservation "of the whole, the superfluity or defect which "hinders the performance of that duty, your lord-"ships know what the philosopher calls ἁμαρτίαν "τῆς φύσεως, 'nature's sin.' And truly, my lords, to "be part of the other body, and do nothing bene-"ficial thereunto, cannot fall under a milder term. "The commonwealth subsists by laws and their "execution: and they that have neither head in the "making nor hand in the executing of them, confer "not anything to the being or well-being thereof. "And can such be called members unless most "unprofitable ones? only *fruges consumere nati.*

"Methinks it springs from nature itself, or the "very depths of justice, that none should be tied by "other laws than himself makes; for what more "natural and just, than to be bound only by his "own consent? to be ruled by another's will is "merely tyrannical. Nature then suffers violence, "and man degenerates into beast. The most flourish-

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" ing estates were ever governed by laws of an universal constitution; witness this our kingdom, witness *senatus populusque Romanus*, the most glorious commonwealth that ever was, and those many others in Greece and elsewhere of eternal memory.

" Some things, my lords, are so evident in themselves, that they are difficult in their proofs. Amongst them I reckon this conveniency I have spoken of: I will therefore use but a word or two more in this way. The long experience that all Christendom hath had hereof for these 1300 years is certainly *argumentum ad hominem.* Nay, my lords, I will go further, (for the same reason runs through all religions,) never was there any nation that employed not their religious men in the greatest affairs. But to come to the business that now lies before your lordships. Bishops have voted here ever since parliaments began, and long before were employed in the public. The good they have done your lordships all well know, and at this day enjoy: for this I hope ye will not put them out, nor for the evil they may do, which yet your lordships do not know, and I am confident never shall suffer. A position ought not to be destroyed by a supposition, *et a posse ad esse non valet consequentia.* My lords, I have done with proving of this positively; I shall now by your good favours do it negatively in answering some inconveniences that may seem to arise.

Object. 1.

" For the text, *No man that wars entangles himself with the affairs of this life*, which is the full sense of the word both in Greek and Latin, it makes not at all against them, except to *intermeddle* and "*entangle* be terms equivalent. Besides, my lords, "though this was directed to a churchman, yet it is "of a general nature, and reaches to all, clergy and "laity, as the most learned and best expositors "unanimously do agree. To end this, *Argumentum* "*symbolicum non est argumentativum.*

Object. 2. "It may be said, that it is inconsistent with a "spiritual vocation: truly, my lord, grace and nature "are in some respects incompatible, but in some "others most harmoniously agree; it perfects nature, "and raises it to a height above the common altitude, and makes it most fit for those great works "of God himself, to make laws, to do justice. There "is then no inconsistency between themselves, it "must arise out of scripture; I am confident it doth "not formally out of any place there, nor did I ever "meet with any learned writer of these or other "times that so expounded any text.

Object. 3. "But though in strict terms this be not inconsistent, yet it may peradventure hinder the duty "of their other calling. My lords, there is not any "that sits here more for preaching than I am; I "know it is the ordinary means to salvation; yet "I likewise know there is not that full necessity of "it as was in the primitive times. God defend that "1600 years' acquaintance should make the gospel "of Christ no better known unto us. Neither, my "lords, doth their office merely and wholly consist "in preaching; but partly in that, partly in praying "and administering the blessed sacraments; in a "godly and exemplary life; in wholesome admonitions; in exhortations to virtue, dehortations from "vice; and partly in easing the burdened conscience. "These, my lords, complete the office of a church-

"man. Nor are they altogether tied to time or "place, though I confess they are most properly "exercised within their own verge, except upon "good occasion, nor then the omission of some can "be termed the breach of them all. I must add "one more, an essential one, the very form of "episcopacy that distinguisheth it from the inferior "ministry, the orderly and good government of the "church: and how many of these, I am sure not "the last, my lords, is interrupted by their sitting "here once in three years, and then peradventure "but a very short time? And can there be a greater "occasion than the common good of the church and "state? I will tell your lordships what the great "and good emperor Constantine did in his expedition against the Persians; he had his bishops "with him, whom he consulted about his military "affairs, as Eusebius has it in his life, lib. iv. "c. 56.

Object. 4. "Reward and punishment are the great negotiators in all worldly business; these may be said "to make the bishops swim against the stream of "their consciences. And may not the same be said "of the laity? Have these no operations but only "upon them? Has the king neither frown, honour, "nor offices, but only for bishops? Is there nothing "that answers their translations? Indeed, my lords, "I must needs say, that in charity it is a supposition "not to be supposed; no, nor in reason, that they "will go against the light of their understanding. "The holiness of their calling, their knowledge, "their freedom from passions and affections to which "youth is very obnoxious, their vicinity to the gates "of death, which, though not shut to any, yet always "stand wide open to old age: these, my lords, will "surely make them steer aright.

Object. 5. "But of matter of fact there is no disputation, "some of them have done ill; *crimine ab uno disce* "*omnes* is a poetical not a logical argument. Some "of the judges have done so, some of the magistrates and officers; and shall there be therefore "neither judge, magistrate, nor officer more? A "personal crime goes not beyond the person that "commits it, nor can another's fault be mine offence. "If they have contracted any filth or corruption "through their own or the vice of the times, cleanse "and purge them throughly: but still remember the "great difference between reformation and extirpation. And be pleased to think of your triennial "bill, which will save you this labour for the time "to come; fear of punishment will keep them in "order, if they should not themselves through the "love of virtue. I have now, my lords, according "to my poor ability, both shewed the conveniences "and answered those inconveniences that seem to "make against them. I should now propose those "that make for them: as, their falling into a condition worse than slaves, not represented by any; "and then the dangers and inconveniences that may "happen to your lordships: but I have done this "heretofore, and will not offer your lordships *cramben bis coctam.*"

These speeches (though they converted none of the opposite) confirmed those of the episcopal party, making the lords very zealous in the bishops' behalf.

Temporal lords favourers of bishops. 20. There were in the house many other defenders of episcopacy; as William [Seymour], lord marquess of Hertford, the earl of Southampton [Thomas

Wriothesley], the earl of Bristol [John Digby], and the lord Digby his son, and (the never to be forgotten) Henry [Bourchier], earl of Bath, a learned lord and lover of learning, oftentimes on occasion speaking for bishops; once publicly professing it one of the greatest honours which ever happily happened to his family, that one thereof (Thomas Bourchier by name) was once dignified with the archbishopric of Canterbury. Many other lords (though not haranguing it in long orations), by their effectual votes for bishops, manifested their unfeigned affections unto them.

The death of bishop Mountague.

21. About this time there were many vacant cathedrals, which the king lately had or now did furnish with new bishops; Dr. Joseph Hall being removed from Exeter to Norwich, void by the death of Richard Mountague, born in Westminster[y], bred in Eton School, fellow in King's College; a great Grecian, and church antiquary, well read in the fathers. But (all in his diocese not being so well skilled in antiquity as himself) some charged him with superstitious urging of ceremonies, and being accused in parliament he appeared not, (being very weak,) but went[x] a more compendious way, to answer all in the high court of heaven.

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[y] [Born at Dorney, according to Wood, Ath. i. 732. He was translated from Chichester to Norwich 4th of May 1638, where he died, and was buried in the choir of the cathedral church; "where to this day," says Wood, "is this only written "on his grave, '*Depositum* "*Montacutii episcopi.*' He "came to Norwich with the "evil effects of a quartan ague "which he had about a year "before, and which accom-"panied him to his grave; yet "he studied and wrote very "much, had an excellent li-"brary of books, and heaps of "papers fairly written with his "own hand concerning the "ecclesiastical history. He "was a person exceedingly "well versed in all the learning "of Greeks and Romans, and "as well studied in the fathers, "councils, and all other monu-"ments of the Christian world "as any man beside in the "whole nation." He was much esteemed by the learned sir Hen. Saville, whom he assisted in his edition of St. Chrysostom, and besides the pieces mentioned before in this History, was the author of an ecclesiastical history which he left unfinished, and editor also of the Epistles of Photius.]

Eminent and popular persons made bishops.

22. As for new elected bishops, his majesty was most careful to choose them out of the most sound for judgment and blameless for conversation.

i. Dr. John Prideaux, almost grown to the king's professor's chair in Oxford, he had sat so long and close therein: procuring, by his painful and learned lectures, deserved repute at home and amongst foreign protestants: he was made bishop of Worcester.

ii. Dr. Thomas Winniffe, dean of St. Paul's; a grave, learned, and moderate divine; made bishop of Lincoln.

iii. Dr. Ralph Brownrig, of most quick and solid parts, equally eminent for disputing and preaching; made bishop of Exeter.

iv. Dr. Henry King, acceptable on the account of his own merit, and on the score of a pious and popular father; made bishop of Chichester.

v. Dr. John Westfield, for many years the painful and profitable preacher of great St. Batholomew's, London; made bishop of Bristol. He died not long after.

Surely, *si urbs defensa, fuisset his dextris*, if Divine Providence had appointed that episcopacy (at this time) should have been kept up and maintained, more probable persons for that purpose could not have been picked out of England; so that envy and detraction might even feed on their own flesh, their teeth finding nothing in the aforesaid elects to fasten upon.

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[x] He died on the 12th of April.

All would not do.

23. But episcopacy was so far from faring the better for them, that they fared the worse for it, insomuch that many who much loved them in their gowns did not at all like them in their rochets.

A disadvantageous juncture of time for bishops.

24. The bill was again brought in against bishops' votes in parliament, and that in a disadvantageous juncture of time, the bishops then being under a threefold qualification.

i. Imprisoned in the tower. Of these eleven, besides archbishop Laud, whose absence much weakened the party.

ii. Lately consecrated, and later inducted into the house of lords, as the bishops of Worcester, Lincoln, Exeter, Chichester, Bristol, such their modesty and manners, they conceived it fitting to practise their hearing before speaking in the house. So that in some sort they may be said to have lost their voices before they found them in the parliament.

iii. The remainder of ancient bishops, London, Salisbury, Bangor, &c., who seldom were seen (detained with other occasions) and more seldom heard in the parliament.

So that the adversaries of episcopacy could not have obtained a fitter opportunity (the spirits of time at large being distilled thereinto) than in this very instant to accomplish their desires.

Bishop Warner the best champion for bishops.

25. Only Dr. John Warner, bishop of Rochester, was he in whom dying episcopacy gave the last groan in the house of lords, one of good speech and a cheerful spirit; and, which made both, a good purse;

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and, which made all three, a good cause, as he conceived in his conscience, which made him very pertinently and valiantly defend the antiquity and justice of bishops' votes in parliament. This is he of whose bounty many distressed souls since have tasted, whose reward no doubt is laid up for him in another world.

The principal plea against bishops' baronies.

26. The main argument which was most insisted on against their temporal baronies were the words of the Apostle, *No man which warreth entangleth himself with the affairs of this life*[a]. Their friends pleaded, 1. That the words equally concerned all militant Christians, bishops not being particularized therein. 2. That it was uncharitable to conclude their fingers more clasping of the world, or the world more glutinous to stick to their fingers, that they alone of all persons could not touch the world but must be entangled therewith. But it was answered, that then, *a fortiore*, clergymen were concerned in the text aforesaid not to meddle with worldly matters, whose governing of a whole diocese was so great an employment, that their attendance in parliament must needs be detrimental to so careful a vocation.

Earl of Bristol's plea for bishops.

27. The earl of Bristol engaged himself a valiant champion in the bishops' behalf; he affirmed, that it was according to the orders of the house, that no bill being once cast out should be brought in again at the same sessions. Seeing therefore the bill against bishops' votes had formerly been clearly carried by many decisive votes for the bishops, it was not only *præter*, but *contra*-parliamentary, it should be brought again this session.

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[a] 2 Tim. ii. 4.

Refuted to others.

28. But seeing this parliament was extraordinary in the manner and continuance thereof, (one session being likely to last for many years,) it was not conceived fit they should be tied to the observance of such punctual niceties; and the resumption of the bill was not only overruled by votes, but also it was clearly carried in the negative, "That bishops never "more should vote as peers in parliament."

The king unwilling to consent.

29. Nothing now wanted, save the royal assent, to pass the said votes into a law. The king appeared very unwilling therein, partly because he conceived it an injury to give away the bishops' undoubted right, partly because he suspected that the haters of the function and lovers of the lands of bishops would grow on his grants and improve themselves on his concessions, so that such yielding unto them would not satisfy their hunger, but quicken their appetites to demand the more hereafter.

But is importuned thereunto.

30. The importunity of others pressed upon him, that to prune off their baronies was the way to preserve their bishoprics; that his majesty, lately obnoxious to the parliament for demanding the five members, would now make plenary satisfaction, and give such assurance of his affections for the future, that all things would answer his desired expectation. This was set home unto him by some (not the farthest) relations, insomuch that at last he signed the bill, as he was in St. Augustine's in Canterbury, passing with the queen towards Dover, then undertaking her voyage into the Low Countries[b].

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[b] [Hacket has not failed to notice these unjust and cowardly proceedings against the church. He wonders that the king should have consented to pass the bill. "Why he did "it," he says, "is a thing "not well known, and wants

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Keep in thy calling.

31. Many expected and more desired that the king's condescension herein should put a period unto all differences; but their expectations were frustrate, and not long after the king apprehending himself in danger by tumults, deserted Whitehall, went into the north, erected his standard at Nottingham; Edge-hill field was fought, and much English blood on both sides shed in several battles: but I seasonably remember that the church is my castle, viz. that the writing thereof is my house and home, wherein I may stand on my own defence against all who assault me. It was good counsel king Joash gave to king Amaziah, *Tarry at home*[c]; the prac-

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"more manifestation; 'necessity was in it,' say they that "would look no further;—the "most said, that nothing was "more plausible than this to "get the people's favor." He then states what he undoubtedly considered to be the real cause, although his respect and reverence to the king forbade him to speak out as clearly and positively as he might have done. "Fear," he says, "had not so "much stroke in this, as the "persuasions of one whom his "majesty loved above all the "world. The king foresaw "he was not like to get any "thing from this parliament "but a civil war, he would not "begin it, but on their part he "heard their hammers already "at the forge.—He being most "tender to provide for the "safety of his queen, went "with her to Dover to convey "her into France.—Being at "Dover, the queen would not "part with the king to shipboard till he signed this bill, "being brought to believe by "all protestation from sir "John Culpepper, who attended there for that dispatch, that the lords and "commons would press his majesty to no more bills of that "unpleasing nature. So the "king snatched greedily at a "flower of a fair offer; and "though he trusted few of the "men at Westminster, yet in "outward show he would seem "to trust them all, the more "because the queen had such "confidence in them. How "Culpepper instilled this into "the queen and how she prevailed, York is my author, "and could not deceive me, "for he told me in the Tower, "'That the king had sacrificed "the clergy to this parliament "by the artifices contrived at "Dover, a day before the news "were brought to London.'"]

[c] 2 Kings xvi. 10.

tice whereof shall I hope secure me from many mischiefs.

Malignant first coined.

32. About this time the word *malignant*[d] was first born (as to the common use) in England, the deduction thereof being disputable, whether from *malus ignis*, "bad fire," or *malum lignum*, "bad fuel;" but this is sure, betwixt both the name made a combustion all over England. It was fixed as a note of disgrace on those of the king's party, and (because one had as good be dumb as not speak with the volge) possibly in that sense it may occur in our ensuing history. However, the royalists plead for themselves, that *malignity*[e] (a scripture word) properly denoteth activity in doing evil, whereas they, being ever since on the suffering side in their persons, credits, and estates, conceive the name improperly applied unto them; which plea the parliamentary party smile at instead of answering, taking notice of the affections of the royalists, how malignant they would have appeared if success had befriended them.

And the word plunder.

33. Contemporary with *malignant* was the word *plunder*, which some make of Latin original, from *planum dare*, "to level," or plane all to nothing. Others make it of Dutch extraction, as if it were to plume or pluck the feathers of a bird to the bare skin. Sure I am, we first heard thereof in the Swedish wars, and if the name and thing be sent back from whence it came, few English eyes would weep thereat.

34. By this time ten of the twelve bishops, for-

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[d] [It is used by the parliament in their remonstrance which they addressed about this time to the king.]

[e] Rom. i. 29.

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The bishops in the Tower released.

merly subscribing their protestation to the parliament, were (after some months durance, upon good bail given) released; two of them finding great favour in their fees from the lieutenant of the tower, in respect of their great charge and small estate. These now at liberty severally disposed themselves; some went home to their own diocese, as the bishops of Norwich, Oxford, &c.: some continued in London, as the bishop of Durham, not so rich in age, as in all commendable episcopal qualities: some withdrew themselves into the king's quarters, as archbishop Williams, &c. Only bishop Wren was still detained in the tower, where his long imprisonment (being never brought in to a public answer) hath converted many of his adversaries into a more charitable opinion of him[f].

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[f] [On this passage Dr. Heylyn observes, "He telleth us "that when all others were released, bishop Wren was still "detained in the Tower, which "is nothing so. That bishop "was released upon bail when "the others were, returned unto his diocese as the others "did, and there continued for "a time; when of a sudden he "was snatched from his house "at Downham, in the Isle of "Ely, carried to the Tower, "and there imprisoned, never "being brought unto a hearing, nor any cause shewn for "his imprisonment to this very "day." Fuller rejoins. "Would "it were 'nothing so.' *Si mea* "*cum vestris valuissent vota.* "If the animadverter's and author's joint desires might "have taken effect, there had "been no difference about this "passage in my book.

" *Tuque domo propria, nos te Præsul poteremur,*
" Thou hadst enjoyed thy house, and we,
" Prelate, had enjoyed thee.

"But alas, it is so; he is still, "and still when all other bishops are released, detained "in the Tower, where I believe he maketh *God's service* his *perfect freedom*. My "words, as relating to the time "when I wrote them, contain "too much sorrowful truth." The Appeal, &c. part iii. p. 51. The Church History was written in 1655. The Appeal in 1659. Bishop Wren was first sent to the Tower in 1641.

To this bishop, if I mistake not, bishop Sprat refers in his discourse to his clergy in 1695.

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A query worth inquiring.

35. The bishops' votes in parliament being dead and departed, (neither to be helped with flattery nor

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Entreating them to study the scriptures, he sets before them the following instance: "The "more to encourage your studies in this method, if you "shall be necessitated to it, "give me leave to present you "with one example of a great "divine and bishop, in the "time of king Charles the "First, who was one of the "most eminent confessors then, "and survived those calamities "to die in peace and tranquillity several years after the "return of king Charles the "Second.

"In the common persecution, which then happened "to the whole episcopal order, "this reverend person was exposed to a more than ordinary degree of popular malice and rage; so that, without ever being once brought "to his trial, he was closely "imprisoned in the Tower for "almost twenty years, and was "not only despoiled of his annual revenue and personal "estate in the first fury of the "civil wars, but was also plundered of most of the collections of his former labours, "and a very considerable library.

"Wherefore, being thus laid "up in prison, without any "prospect of liberty, having "also a numerous family to "maintain, so that he was not "able, in any sort, to repair "the loss of his books and papers, he betook himself to "this course of study: well "knowing that he could have "no faithfuller companion for "his solitude, nor surer consolation in his afflictions, than "the holy scriptures, he applied himself to them immediately, with little other help "but what he had within himself, and the best prints of "the originals in the learned "tongues, and their translation "in the learned and modern, "in both which he was a great "master.

"Thus, however, he firmly "and vigorously proceeded so "far in the single study of the "scriptures, that long before "his enlargement he had composed a great mass of annotations on divers parts of the "Bible. What is become of "them I know not. If they "are either embezzled or suppressed, no doubt it is to "the great damage of the "church; since the native "thoughts of a great man are "generally, at least, as good as "the most artificial.

"Perhaps you will say, he "might be able to do all this "by the strength of his memory, and the variety of "learning he had laid up in it "beforehand: and I make no "doubt but those were an exceeding great assistance to "him.

"But what was very remarkable, and for which I "am bold to produce him as "an instance worthy your imihurt with malice,) one word of inquiry in what notion they formerly voted in parliament.

Whether, as a distinct third estate of the clergy, or,	*Whether, as so many single barons in their temporal capacity.*
This was formerly received for a truth, countenanced with some passages in the old statutes, reckoning the lords spiritual, and lords temporal, and the commons, to be the three estates, the king (as paramount of all) not comprehended therein.	This is maintained by those who account the king, the lords, and commons, the three estates, amongst which lords the bishops (though spiritual persons) appeared as so many temporal barons; whose absence is no whit prejudicial to the acts passed in parliament.

Some of the aged bishops had their tongues so used to the language of a third estate, that more than once they ran on that (reputed) rock in their speeches, for which they were publicly shent, and enjoined an acknowledgment of their mistake.

Divines consulted with in parliament.

36. The convocation now not sitting, and many matters of religion being brought under the cognizance

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"tation in this particular, I know he was often heard to profess solemnly, that in all his former studies, and various reading and observations, he had never met with a more useful guide or a surer interpreter to direct his paths in the dark places of the lively oracles, to give information to his understanding in the obscure passages, or satisfaction to his conscience in the experimental truths of them, than when he was thus driven by necessity to the assiduous contemplation of the scripture alone, and to weigh it by itself, as it were in the balance of the sanctuary."—The Clergyman's Instructor, p. 263, ed. Oxford, 1827. See also the preface to Wren's *Increpatio Bar Jesu.*]

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of the parliament, their wisdoms adjudged it not only convenient but necessary, that some prime clergymen might be consulted with. In order whereunto they resolved to select some out of all counties, whom they conceived best qualified for their design herein, and the first of July was the day appointed for their meeting.

SECT. IX.

TO

MR. GILES VANDEPUT[a],

MR. GILES CLEGAT[b],

MR. PETER MATTHEWS[c],

OF LONDON, MERCHANTS.

A threefold cable is not easily broken, and a triplicate of friends may be presumed effectual to protect my endeavours, of whom two are of Dutch, the third in the midst of English extraction, not falling there by casual confusion, but placed by designed conjunction. Methinks it is a good sight, to

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[a] [Arms. Or, three dolphins haurient azure. Collins, in his Baronetage, gives a very just account of this family. "This "family," he says, "has been "of great eminence in the "Netherlands, and the present "sir Peter Vandeput, bart." (this was written in 1741, since which time the title has become extinct) "is the sixth in a li"neal descent from Henry Van"deput, of Antwerp, who fled "from thence with several "wealthy families, anno 1568, "the 11th of Elizabeth," (on the persecution of the duke D'Alva to extirpate the Protestant religion in the Netherlands,) "and brought over hi"ther a good estate; though "several branches of his family "are still remaining in the Low "Countries. Giles Vandeput, "esq." (mentioned by Fuller) "son of the above Henry, mar"ried Sarah, daughter and "heir of John Joupin, esq., by "whom a considerable estate "came into this family: he "died March 24, 1656, leaving "Peter his son and heir, who "married Jane, daughter of "Theodoric Hoste, of London, "merchant. Peter Vandeput, "lineal descendant from Giles "Vandeput, was created a "bart. in 1723."—Collins's Baronetage, iv. 204.

An act for his naturalization, in 1624, is printed in Rushworth, i. 153. The inscription on his tombstone, as given by Collins, fixes his death in 1646;

behold the Dutch embracing the English, and this dedication may pass for the emblem of the late agreement, which God long continue, if for the mutual good of both nations.

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The first meeting of the assembly.

WHEN on this day the assembly of divines, to consult about matters of religion, met at Westminster, in the chapel of king Henry the Seventh; then the constitution of this assembly, as first elected and designed, was to consist of about one hundred and twenty persons chosen by the parliament (without respect of dioceses) in relation to shires, two or more of a county. They thought it not safe to intrust the clergy with their own choice, of whose general corruption they constantly complained, and therefore adjudged it unfit that the distempered patients should be or choose their own physicians.

The four English quarters of the assembly.

2. These elects were of four several natures, as the quarters of the same body, easily distinguishable by these conditions or opinions.

First, Men of episcopal persuasion; as the right reverend James Usher, archbishop of Armagh; Dr. Brownrigg, bishop of Exeter; Dr. Westfield, bishop of Bristol; Dr. Daniel Featley; Dr. Richard Holdsworth, &c.

Secondly, Such who in their judgments favoured

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but this must be a mistake for 1656, for Fuller could scarcely be unacquainted with it, and so speak of him, as being alive at this time, 1655.]

[b] [Arms. Ermine, on a fess sable three pheons or. See the Harleian MSS. 1086, p. 18, where he is styled colonel Edward Clegatt, draper, Kent, and his coat empaled with Gadden. I find him mentioned as being of Leyborn Castle, in the same county, yet no notice of him or his family is found in Hasted.]

[c] [Of this person I can discover no traces.]

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the presbyterian discipline, or in process of time were brought over to embrace it, amongst whom (to mention those who seemed to be pillars, as on whose abilities the weight of the work most lay) we take special notice of

Dr. [Joshua] Hoyle, divinity professor in Ireland.

Cambridge.

Dr. Th. Gouge of Blackfriars.
Dr. Smith of Barkway.
Mr. Oliver Bowles.
Mr. Thomas Gataker.
Mr. Henry Scudder.
Mr. Anthony Tuckeners.
Mr. Stephen Marshall.
Mr. John Arrowsmith.
Mr. Herbert Palmer.
Mr. Thomas Throughgood.
Mr. Thomas Hill.
Mr. Nathaniel Hodges.
Mr. Gibbons.
Mr. Timothy Young.
Mr. Richard Vines.
Mr. Thomas Coleman.
Mr. Mathew Newcomen.
Mr. Jeremiah Whitaker.
&c.

Oxford.

Dr. William Twiss.
Dr. Cornelius Burgess.
Dr. [Edmond] Stanton.
Dr. White of Dorchester.
Mr. Harris of Hanwell.
Mr. Edward Reynolds.
Mr. Charles Herle.
Mr. Corbet of Merton College.
Mr. Conant.
Mr. Francis Cheynell.
Mr. Obadiah Sedgwick.
Mr. Cartar, senior.
Mr. Cartar, junior.
Mr. Joseph Caryll.
Mr. Strickland.
&c[d].

I hope an *et cætera* (so distasteful elsewhere) may be permitted in the close of our catalogue, and am confident that the rest here omitted as unknown unto me will take no exception. The like assurance

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[d] [Their names will be found at length in the ordinance for calling the assembly of divines, printed in Dugdale's Short View, &c. p. 902. See also Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, Intr. p. 29.]

I have, that none will cavil if not reckoned up in their just seniority, both because they know I was none of the register that entered their admissions in the universities, and because it may savour something of a prelatical spirit to be offended about precedency.

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19 Chas. I.

Thirdly, Some zealous ministers, who formerly disliking conformity, to avoid the censures of episcopal consistories, removed themselves beyond the seas, chiefly to Holland, where some had plentiful, all comfortable subsistence, whence they returned home at the beginning of this parliament. These afterwards proved dissenting brethren to some transactions in the assembly, as Thomas Goodwin, Sidrach Symson, Philip Nye, &c.

Fourthly, Some members of the house of lords and commons were mingled amongst them, and voted jointly in their consultations, as the earl of Pembroke, the lord Say. The most learned antiquary, Mr. John Selden, Mr. Francis Rouse, Mr. Bulstrode Whitelock, &c.

Thus was this assembly (as first chosen and intended) a quintessence of four parties. Some conceived so motley a meeting promised no good results, whilst others grounded their hopes on what was the motive of the former to despair—the miscellaneous nature of the assembly. For what speedier way to make peace in a distracted church than to take in all interests to consult together. It had been little better than a spiritual monopoly only to employ those of one party, whilst if all men's arguments, objections, complaints, desires, be indifferently admitted, an expedient may be the sooner found out for their just and general satisfaction.

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The Scots commissioners joined in the assembly.

3. So much for the English party of this assembly: for know, that commissioners from Scotland were joined with them; some of the nobility, as the earl of Lothian, the lord Lauderdale, the lord Warriston. Others of the clergy, as Mr. Alexander Henderson, Mr. Gillespie, &c. So that as Livy calleth the general meeting of Ætolia Pan-Ætolium, this assembly endeavoured to put on the face of Pan-Britannicum, that the walls of the palace wherein they met might in some sort be like the waves of the sea, within the compass whereof they lived, as surrounding one island and two nations.

Dr. Twiss the prolocutor his sermon.

4. Dr. Twiss preached the first sermon at the meeting of the assembly, though the schools, not the pulpit, was his proper element, (witness his controversial writings;) and in his sermon he exhorted them faithfully to discharge their high calling to the glory of God and the honour of his church[e]. He much bemoaned that one thing was wanting, namely, the royal assent to give comfort and encouragement to them. Yet he hoped that by the efficacy of their fervent prayers it might in due time be obtained, and that a happy union might be procured betwixt him and the parliament. Sermon ended, the ordinance was read, by which was declared the cause, ground and intent of their convention, namely, to consult with the parliament for the settling of religion and church government. Then the list of their names was called over who were appointed to be present there, and a mark (but no penalty) set on such who appeared not at the time prefixed.

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[e] [See a somewhat temperate account of him in Clark's "Lives of Eminent Persons of "this latter age," p. 13, ed. 1683. Wood's Athen. ii. 80.]

The royalists' reasons of their non-appearance.

5. The appearance of the persons elected answered not expectation, seeing of an hundred and twenty but sixty-nine were present, and those in coats and cloaks, of several forms and fashions, so that Dr. Westfield and some few others seemed the only nonconformists amongst them, for their conformity whose gowns and canonical habits differed from all the rest. For of the first sort of royalists, episcopal in their judgments, very few appeared, and scarce any continued any time in the house, (save Dr. Daniel Featley, of whom hereafter,) alleging privately several reasons for their absence or departure.

i. First, they had no call from the king; (having read how anciently the breath of Christian emperors gave the first being to counsels;) yea, some on my knowledge had from his majesty a flat command to the contrary[f].

ii. They were not chosen by the clergy, and so could not appear as representatives, but in their personal capacities.

iii. This meeting seemed set up to pluck down the convocation, (now neither sitting nor legally dissolved,) which solemnly was summoned for ecclesiastical affairs.

iv. If appearing there they should be beheld by the rest (what Joseph charged on his brethren) as spies come thither to see the nakedness of the assembly.

v. Being few, they should easily be out-voted by the opposite party, and so only worn as countenances to credit their proceedings.

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[f] [The king published a general protestation against this assembly, dated from Christ Church, Oxford. See it in Rushworth, iii. p. 346. Collier's E. H. ii. 826.]

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However, I have heard many of both parties desire that those defenders of the hierarchy had afforded their presence, as hoping that their learning and abilities, their temper and moderation, might have conduced much to mitigate some violence and extremity in their proceedings. But God in his all-ordering providence saw it unfitting, and whether or no any good had been effected by them, if present, (seeing as yet no law to alter men's conjectures,) is left to the liberty of every man's opinion[g].

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[g] [Of the formation of this assembly, the author of *Persecutio Undecima* speaks thus, in language more true and just than ceremonious: "That this "faction in parliament may "blind the eyes of the world, "(indeed to strengthen and "support themselves till they "should become absolute mas"ters of England,) when they "had been long tampering "with religion, at last they "found (policy necessitating "them) some need of using "clergymen; yet in such a "monstrous way, as the Chris"tian world never heard the "like; by a new thing called "an assembly of divines, not "summoned by the king's writ "and authority, (expressly a"gainst the statute of Henry "I.); not chosen by the cler"gy; but plucked out of each "member's pocket;—juggled "into a conventicle synod on "purpose,—to help out with "some new religion, as their "masters (which hired them "with 4*s.* per diem) shall ap"point. Yet lest these di"vines, (such as they be,) New "Englanders, Amsterdamians, "pedants, and trencher-chap"lains, (to whom were some ten "learned clergymen's names "joined as seals, who never "came there in person,) should "take any authority to them"selves, the faction in parlia"ment have jostled in 30 of "their lay-members (another "vote can make them 30 more) "as members of this linsey"wolsey synod, to make up a "side. But to make all sure, "their parliament masters have "ordered that this assembly "(yoked like an ox and an "ass to till the Holy Land) "must meddle only with what "shall be propounded to them "from the houses of parlia"ment; and when all is done, "their conclusions shall not "bind till the parliament give "leave and consent; and, saith "the ordinance (not law) "whereby this learned synod "is created and bridled, these "divines must tell them what "is most agreable to God's "word, and when the parlia"ment is thus certified what "God's law is, the house of

6. Soon after, the assembly was completely constituted with all the essentials thereunto, Dr. Twiss, prolocutor, Mr. Roborough and Adoniram Byfield their scribes and notaries; and now their good success (next to the parliament's) was publicly prayed for by the preachers in the city, and books dedicated unto them under the title of the most Sacred Assembly[h], which, because they did not disavow, by others they were interpreted to approve; four shillings a day salary was allowed them, much too little as some thought for men of their merit, others grumbling at it as too much for what by them was performed. And now what place more proper for the building of Sion (as they propounded it) than the chamber of Jerusalem, (the fairest in the dean's lodgings, where king Henry the Fourth died, and) where these divines did daily meet together. A.D. 1643. 19 Chas. I. **The assembly constituted.**

7. Be it here remembered, that some (besides those episcopally affected) chosen to be at this assembly notwithstanding absented themselves, pretending age, indisposition, &c., as it is easy for able unwillingness to find out excuses and make them probable. Fit it was therefore so many evacuities should be filled up, to mount the meeting to a competent number; and assemblies, as well as armies, when grown thin must be recruited. Hence it was that at several times the lords and commons added more members unto them, by the name of the superadded divines. Some of these, though equal to the former in power, were conceived to fall short in **The superadded divines.**

"commons will vote whether "it shall be obeyed or no. "Such an omnipotence over "God's law, over the church "and the king, hath this faction usurped." p. 40.]

[h] Mr. Saltmarsh's book against Tho. Fuller's [Sermon on the Reformation.]

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parts, as chosen rather by the affections of others than for their own abilities, the original members of the assembly not overpleased thereat, such addition making the former rather more, than more considerable.

The assembly's first petition for a fast.

8. One of the first public acts which I find by them performed, was the humble presenting of a petition to both houses for the appointing of a solemn fast to be generally observed. And no wonder if their request met with fair acceptance and full performance, seeing the assembly's petition was the parliament's intention, and this solemn suit of the divines did not create new, but quicken the old resolutions in both houses; presently a fast is appointed, and accordingly kept on the following Friday, Mr. Bowles and Mr. Newcomen (whose sermons are since printed) preaching on the same, and all the rest of the particulars promised to be taken into speedy consideration.

The covenant entereth England.

9. It was now projected to find out some band or tie for the straiter union of the English and Scottish amongst themselves, and both to the parliament; in order whereunto the covenant was now presented. This covenant was of Scottish extraction, born beyond Tweed, but now brought to be bred on the south side thereof.

The covenant first taken.

10. The house of commons in parliament and the assembly of divines solemnly took the covenant at St. Margaret's in Westminster.

Commanded to be printed.

11. It was ordered by the commons in parliament that this covenant be forthwith printed and published.

Taken by gentlemen.

12. Divers lords, knights, gentlemen, colonels, officers, soldiers and others, then residing in the city

of London, met at St. Margaret's in Westminster, and there took the said covenant: Mr. Coleman preaching a sermon before them concerning the piety and legality thereof.

Enjoined all in London.

13. It was commanded by the authority of both houses, that the said covenant, on the sabbath day ensuing, should be taken in all churches and chapels of London within the lines of communication, and throughout the kingdom, in convenient time appointed thereunto, according to the tenor following.

A solemn league and covenant, for reformation and defence of religion, the honour and happiness of the king, and the peace and safety of the three kingdoms, of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

"We noblemen, barons, knights, gentlemen, citizens, burgesses, ministers of the gospel, and commons of all sorts, in the kingdom of England, Scotland, and Ireland, by the providence of God living under one king, and being of one reformed religion; having before our eyes the glory of God, and the advancement of the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the honour and happiness of the king's majesty and his posterity, and the true public liberty, safety and peace of the kingdom, wherein every one's private condition is included; and calling to mind the treacherous and bloody plots, conspiracies, attempts and practices of the enemies of God against the true religion, and the professors thereof in all places, especially in these three kingdoms, ever since the reformation of religion, and how much their rage, power, and presumption are of late, and at this time increased and exercised, whereof the deplorable estate of the church and kingdom of Ireland, the distressed estate of the church and kingdom of England, the dangerous estate of the church and kingdom of Scotland, are present and public testimonies: We have now at last, (after other means of supplications, remonstrances, protestations, and sufferings),

A. D. 1643. 19 Chas. I. for the preservation of ourselves and our religion from utter ruin and destruction, according to the commendable practice of these kingdoms in former times, and the example of God's people in other nations, after mature deliberation, resolved and determined to enter into a mutual Solemn League and Covenant, wherein we all subscribe, and each one of us for himself, with our hands lifted up to the most high God do swear,

> "That we shall sincerely, really, and constantly, through the grace of God, endeavour in our several places and callings the preservation of the reformed religion in the church of Scotland in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, against our common enemies; the reformation of religion in the kingdoms of England and Ireland, in doctrine, worship, discipline and government, according to the word of God, and the example of the best reformed churches; and shall endeavour to bring the churches of God in the three kingdoms to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in religion, confession of faith, form of church-government, directory for worship and catechizing; that we and our posterity after us may as brethren live in faith and love, and the Lord may delight to dwell in the midst of us.
>
> "That we shall in like manner, without respect of persons, endeavour the extirpation of popery, prelacy, (that is, church-government by archbishops, bishops, their chancellors and commissaries, deans, deans and chapters, archdeacons, and all other ecclesiastical officers depending on that hierarchy,) superstition, heresy, schism, profaneness, and whatsoever shall be found to be contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness; lest we partake in other men's sins, and thereby be in danger to receive of their plagues, and that the Lord may be one, and his name one in the three kingdoms.
>
> "We shall, with the same sincerity, reality, and constancy in our several vocations, endeavour with our

estates and lives mutually to preserve the rights and privileges of the parliaments, and the due liberties of the kingdoms, and to preserve and defend the king's majesty, his person and authority, in the preservation and defence of the true religion and liberties of the kingdoms, that the world may bear witness with our consciences of our loyalty, and that we have no thoughts or intentions to diminish his majesty's just power and greatness. A.D. 1643. 19 Chas. I.

"We shall also with all faithfulness endeavour the discovery of all such as have been or shall be incendiaries, malignants, or evil instruments, by hindering the reformation of religion, dividing the king from his people, or one of the kingdoms from another, or making any faction or parties amongst the people contrary to this league and covenant, that they may be brought to public trial and receive condign punishment, as the degree of their offences shall require or deserve, or the supreme judicatories of both kingdoms respectively, or others having power from them for that effect, shall judge convenient.

"And whereas the happiness of a blessed peace between these kingdoms, denied in former times to our progenitors, is by the good providence of God granted unto us, and hath been lately concluded and settled by both parliaments, we shall each one of us, according to our place and interest, endeavour that they remain conjoined in a firm peace and union to all posterity, and that justice may be done upon the wilful opposers thereof in manner expressed in the precedent article.

"We shall also, according to our places and callings, in this common cause of religion, liberty, and peace of the kingdoms, assist and defend all those that enter into this league and covenant, in the maintaining and pursuing thereof, and shall not suffer ourselves directly or indirectly, by whatsoever combination, persuasion, or terror, to be divided and withdrawn

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from this blessed conjunction and union, whether to make defection to the contrary part, or to give ourselves to a detestable indifferency or neutrality in this cause, which so much concerneth the glory of God, the good of the kingdoms, and honour of the king, but shall all the days of our lives zealously and constantly endeavour to continue therein against all opposition, and promote the same according to our power against all lets and impediments whatsoever; and what we are not able of ourselves to suppress or overcome, we shall reveal and make known, that it may be timely prevented or removed. All which we shall do as in the sight of God.

"And because these kingdoms are guilty of many sins and provocations against God and his Son Jesus Christ, as is too manifest by our present distresses and dangers, the fruits thereof; we profess and declare before God and the world, our unfeigned desire to be humbled for our own sins, and for the sins of these kingdoms, especially that we have not as we ought valued the inestimable benefit of the gospel, that we have not laboured for the purity and power thereof, and that we have not endeavoured to receive Christ in our hearts, nor to walk worthy of him in our lives, which are the causes of other sins and transgressions so much abounding amongst us, and our true and unfeigned purpose, desire and endeavour for ourselves, and all others under our charge, both in public and in private, in all duties we owe to God and man, to amend our lives, and each one to go before another in the example of a real reformation, that the Lord may turn away his wrath and heavy indignation, and establish these churches and kingdoms in truth and peace. And this covenant we make in the presence of Almighty God, the searcher of all hearts, with a true intention to perform the same, as we shall answer at the great day, when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed, most humbly beseeching the Lord

> to strengthen us by his Holy Spirit to this end, and to bless our desires and proceedings with such success, as may be deliverance and safety to his people, and encouragement to other Christian churches groaning under, or in danger of the yoke of antichristian tyranny, to join in the same or like association and covenant, to the glory of God, the enlargement of the kingdom of Jesus Christ, and the peace and tranquillity of Christian kingdoms and commonwealths[g].

We listen not to their fancy, who have reckoned the words in the covenant *six hundred sixty-six*[h], preface and conclusion, as only circumstantial appendants, not accounted, and esteem him who trieth it as well at leisure (alias as idle) as he that first made the observation. Much less applaud we their parallel, who (the number in branches agreeing) compare it to the superstitious and cruel Six Articles enacted by king Henry the Eighth. But let us consider the solid and serious exceptions alleged against it, not so light and slight as to be puffed away with the breath of the present age, but whose weight is likely to sink them down to the consideration of posterity.

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[g] [To this bishop Hacket alludes in the following passage: "To make us swear ourselves "for ever unto prophaneness, "sin, and baseness, the solemn "league and covenant passed "by the votes of both houses, "and by the great approvement of their journeymen "the assembly; and this flag "of six colours was hung up "in all the houses of God in "the land: where the two "tables of the law were put "before, to hold out our duty "to God and love to our neighbour, a new piece of Christianity is clapt upon the wall, "to renounce the king and "ruin the church.—Oh, very "wise parliament! Can you "teach one how to piece liberty and this covenant together? for all that refuse it "must be sequestered, imprisoned, disofficed, the clergy "that will not submit lose "their benefices, and the law "cannot keep them in their "freehold." Life of Williams, II. 200.]

[h] Rev. xiii. 19.

Exceptions general to the whole.

14. First, seeing this covenant (though not as first penned) as prosecuted had heavy penalties inflicted on the refusers thereof, such pressing is inconsistent with the nature of any contract, wherein consent, not constraint is presumed. In a covenant men should go of their own good will, or be led by persuasions, not drawn by frights and fears, much less driven by forfeits and punishments.

Made without the king's consent.

15. Secondly, subjects are so far from having the express or tacit consent of the king for the taking thereof, that by public proclamation he hath forbidden the same. Now, seeing parents had power by the law[1] of God to rescind such vows which their children made without their privity, by the equity of the same law this covenant is void, if contrary to the flat command of him who is *Parens patriæ.*

Full of doubtful words.

16. Many words occur in this covenant, some obscure, others of doubtful meaning, viz. *common enemies, best reformed churches, malignants, highest judicatories of both kingdoms,* &c. Until therefore the obscure be cleared, the doubtful stated and fixed, the same cannot (as it ought) be taken in judgment.

Exceptions to the preface.

Therein it is suggested, that supplications, remonstrance, protestations to the king, were formerly used; which proving ineffectual, occasioned the trying of this covenant, as the last hopeful means to preserve religion from ruin, &c. Now, seeing many joined neither with their hands nor hearts in presenting these writings, such persons scrupled this covenant, which they cannot take in truth, because founded on the failing of the aforesaid means, to the using whereof they concurred not in the last degree.

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[1] Numb. xxx. 6.

Pretended ancient, yet unprecedented.

17. It is pretended in the preface, that this covenant is "according to the commendable practice of "these kingdoms in former times." Whereas, indeed it is new in itself, following no former precedents; a grand divine[k] of the parliament party publicly professing, that "we read not, either in "divine or human histories, the like oath extant in "any age, as to the matter, persons, and other "circumstances thereof."

Exceptions to the first article.

Cannot be taken knowingly.

18. They are unsatisfied to swear to maintain the preservation of the reformed religion of Scotland in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, as being ignorant (such their distance thence, and small intelligence there) of the particulars thereof. They are loath therefore to make a blind promise, for fear of a lame performance.

Nor without a double scandal.

19. As for the reforming of religion (which necessarily implies a changing thereof) of England and Ireland in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, they cannot consent thereunto without manifest scandal, both to papists and separatists. For (besides, that they shall desert that just cause, which many pious martyrs, bishops, and divines of our church have defended both with their ink and blood, writings and sufferings) hereby they shall advantage the cavils of papists against our religion, taxing it of uncertainty, not knowing where to fix our feet, as always altering the same. Yea, they shall not only supply papists with pleas for their recusancy, sec-

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[k] Phil. Nye Covenant with Narrat. p. 12.

A. D. 1643. 19 Chas. I. taries for their separation, acknowledging something in our church doctrine and service not well agreeing with God's word; but also shall implicitly confess papists unjustly punished by the penal statutes, for not conforming with us to the same public service, wherein some things are by ourselves, as well as them, misliked and disallowed.

Injury to themselves. 20. Nor can they take this covenant without injury and perjury to themselves. Injury, by ensnaring their consciences, credits and estates, if endeavouring to reform religion (under the notion of faulty and vicious) to which formerly they had subscribed, enjoined thereto by the law[l] of the land, not yet abrogated, never as yet checked by the regrets of their own consciences, nor confuted by the reasons of others for the doing thereof.

Perjury to their souls. 21. Perjury, as contrary to the protestation and solemn vow they had lately[m] taken, and oath of supremacy, swearing therein to defend all the king's rights and privileges, whereof his spiritual jurisdiction in reforming church matters is a principal. Now, although a latter oath may be corroborative of the former, or constructive of a new obligation consistent therewith, yet can it not be inductive of a tie, contrary to an oath lawfully taken before.

Exceptions to the second article.

Ill, but forced equipage of prelacy. 22. It grieveth them therein to see prelacy so unequally yoked: popery being put before it; superstition, heresy, schism, and profaneness following after. Such the pleasure of those that placed them, though nothing akin in themselves. But a captive, by the power of others, may be fettered to those whom he hates and abhors.

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[l] 13 Eliz. cap. 12.

[m] May the 5th, 1641.

Four reasons against extirpation of prelacy.

Consent they cannot to the extirpation of prelacy, neither in respect of

i. *The thing itself;* being persuaded, that neither papal monarchy, nor presbyterian democracy, nor independent anarchy are so conformable to the scriptures as episcopal aristocracy, being (if not of divine in a strict sense) of apostolical institution, confirmed with church practice (the best comment on scripture when obscure for 1500 years), and bottomed on the same foundation with infants-baptism, national churches, observing the Lord's day, and the like.

ii. *Themselves;* of whom, 1, all when taking degrees in the university; 2, most, as many as are entered into holy orders; 3, not a few, when lately petitioning the parliament for the continuing of episcopacy; and, 4, some, being members of cathedral and collegiate churches, have subscribed with their hands, and with their corporal oaths avowed the justification and defence of that government.

iii. *Church of England;* fearing many mischiefs from this alteration, (felt sooner than seen in all great and sudden changes,) especially because the ecclesiastical government is so interwoven in many statutes of the land. And, if schisms so increase on the suspension, what is to be expected on the extirpation of episcopacy.

iv. His *majesty;* as contrary to their oath of supremacy, wherein they were bound to maintain his privileges; amongst which a principal is, that "he is "supreme moderator over all causes and persons "spiritual," wherein no change is to be attempted without his consent; and also his dignity, the collations

A.D. 1643. 19 Chas. I. of bishoprics and deaneries, with their profits in their vacancies belonging unto him, and the first fruits and tenths of ecclesiastical dignities, a considerable part of the royal revenue.

Here we omit their plea, whose chief means consisting of cathedral preferment, allege the like not done from the beginning of the world, that men (though deserving deprivation for their offences) should be forced to swear sincerely, seriously, and from their souls, to endeavour the rooting out of that whence their best livelihood doth depend.

Exceptions against the third article.

23. It grieveth them herein to be sworn to the 'preservation of the privileges of parliament, and liberties of the kingdom,' at large and without any restriction, being bound in the following words to defend the 'king's person and authority,' as limited 'in the preservation and defence of true religion, and the liberties of the realm;' enlarging the former, that the latter may be the more confined.

24. They are jealous what should be the cause of the inversion of the method, seeing in the 'solemn vow and protestation,' the 'defence of the king's person and authority' is put first, which in this covenant is postposed to the 'privileges of parliament.' However, seeing the protestation was first taken, the covenant as the 'younger' cannot disinherit the 'elder' of the possession which it hath quietly taken in men's consciences.

Exceptions to the fourth article.

25. They are unsatisfied whether the same imposeth not a necessity for children to prosecute their

parents even to death, under the notion of 'malignants,' against all rules of religion and humanity. For even in case of idolatry, children under the old law[n] were not bound publicly to accuse their parents, so as to bring them to be stoned for the same; though such unnatural cruelty be foretold by our Saviour[o], to fall out under the gospel, of those that shall *rise up against their parents, and cause them to be put to death.*

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Exceptions to the fifth article.

26. They understand not what is meant therein by the 'happiness of a blessed peace betwixt these kingdoms,' whereof Ireland must needs be one, whilst the same is rent with a woeful war, and the other two lands distracted with homebred discords; whereof no settlement can be hoped, until first all interests be equally stated, and the 'king's authority,' 'privileges of parliament,' and 'liberties of subjects' justly bounded and carefully preserved.

Exceptions to the sixth article.

27. They are unsatisfied therein as wholly hypothetical, supposing what as yet is not cleared by solid arguments, viz. that this is 'the common cause of religion, liberty, and peace of the realms,' &c. And if the same be granted, it appeareth not to their conscience, that the means used to promote this cause are so lawful and free from just objections which may be raised from the laws of God and man.

Exceptions to the conclusion.

28. They quake at the mention, that the taking of

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[n] Deut. xiii. 6.

[o] Matth. x. 21.

this covenant should 'encourage other churches groaning under the yoke of antichristian tyranny,' to join in the same, fearing the dangerous consequences this may produce to foreign protestants, and enrage popish princes (in whose dominions they live) to cruelty against them, as disaffected to their government. Besides, when Divine Providence layeth such burthens on his servants, even 'the yoke of antichrist' is then 'the yoke of Christ,' not to be thrown off with force, but to be borne with the confession of the truth, prayers, patience, and Christian courage.

29. So much concerning the covenant, which some three months after began to be rigorously and generally urged[p]. Nor have I ought else to observe thereof,

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[p] [Not the least inducement which urged the parliamentary party and their puritan favourites to press the covenant so rigorously was their belief that it would be generally refused by the clergy, and thus afford a handle for turning them out of their livings. One of their main engines for advancing the work of reformation, as it was called, was to plant lecturers in the city churches, a work not of mere policy, but thrift, and a saving method of providing for needy puritan ministers. The most violent of that party had now crowded up to London, those who had been silenced by archbishop Laud or had retired into the provinces had returned, and claimed a reward for their sufferings and their services. Stripped of all defence, deserted by the nobility, who prostituted their honour to the smiles of the popular puritans, the clergy were a ready and easy prey. "To which "purpose," (to use the words of the author quoted before,) "they at first invented these "tricks and formalities of jus"tice against the clergy, till "having got the power, their "sword should make good "the sequestering and removal "of those (especially in Lon"don) who were not like to "apostatize from religion and "loyalty.—This made the fac"tion in the house of com"mons never transmit any bills "against any particular accused "clergymen to the house of "peers (where indeed lay ju"diciary power) to a legal "hearing; but knowing well "such foggy charges would "soon vanish at the face of "justice, these evil spirits kept "on their course of casting "mists before the people's

save to add in mine own defence, that I never saw the same, except at distance as hung up in churches, nor ever had any occasion to read, or hear it read, till this day[q] in writing my history, whatever hath been reported and printed to the contrary of my taking thereof in London, who went away from the Savoy to the king's quarters long before any mention thereof in England.

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30. True it is, there was an oath which never exceeded the 'line of communication,' meeting with so much opposition, that it expired in the infancy thereof, about the time when the plot was discovered for which Mr. Tomkins and Mr. Chaloner suffered. This was tendered to me, and taken by me in the vestry of the Savoy church, but first protesting some limitations thereof to myself. This not satisfying was complained of, by some persons present, to the parliament, where it was ordered that the next Lord's day I should take the same oath in *terminis terminantibus* in the face of the church, which not agreeing with my conscience, I withdrew myself into the king's parts, which (I hope) I may no less safely than I do freely confess, because punished for the same with the loss of my livelihood, and since (I suppose) pardoned in the act of oblivion.

The author's plea in his own just defence.

31. Now began the great and general purgation of the clergy in the parliament's quarters, many being outed for their misdemeanours by the committee appointed for that purpose. Some of their

The parliament's purge to the clergy.

"eyes, to make them think "that the lights of the church "burned so dim, that it was "necessary to snuff them or "quite put them out." Pers. Undec. p 43.]

[q] July 1, 1654.

offences were so foul, it is a shame to report them, crying to justice for punishment. Indeed, Constantine the Christian emperor was wont to say, "If "I see a clergyman offending I will cover him with "my cloak," but surely he meant such offences as are frailties and infirmities, no scandalous enormities. Such unsavoury salt is good for nothing, no, not for the dunghill[r], because as the savour is lost which makes it useful, so the fretting is left which makes it useless, whereby it is so far from being good compost to fatten ground, that it doth rather embarren it. Let Baal therefore plead for itself, nothing can be said in their excuse, if (what was the main matter) their crimes were sufficiently proved.

The expelled clergy's plea.

32. But as to the point, hear what the royalists at Oxford say for their friends, whilst they conceive themselves to take just exceptions at the proceedings against these ministers[s].

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[r] Luke xiv. 35.

[s] [Dr. Heylin is rather indignant at this passage of our author, and not better satisfied with the *salvo* of the concluding observations. See his epistle "To "the Poor Remainders of the "Old Regular and Conform- "able Clergy, &c." Perhaps some few of the clergy may have been guilty of the irregularities here imputed to them; still with every concession, the proceedings of these commissioners were most dishonest, cruel, and tyrannical. What further proof can be required of their injustice than the fact of their depriving, "as igno- "rant and scandalous minis- "ters," such men as Hales, Walton, the editor of the Polyglott, and Pocock, the orientalist? The fate of these and many others is a sufficient proof, to use the words of a very candid writer, "that "the bare expulsion of men "from ecclesiastical benefices "by this committee implied "neither moral delinquency "nor a want of ministerial qua- "lifications." Jackson's Life of Goodwin, p. 83. Opposition to Calvinism and an attachment to episcopacy were in the judgment of this committee as heinous as infidelity and immorality; and though not the only motives, (for covetousness was the strongest,) was often a prevailing one in the expulsion of the clergy.]

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i. Some of their faults were so foul, that the foulness[t] of them is all that can be pleaded for them. For being capital, the persons deserved to be outed of life, not of living, which leaves a suspicion of imperfect proof.

ii. The witnesses against them were seldom deposed on oath, but their bare complaints believed.

iii. Many of the complainers were factious people, (those most accusing their sermons who least heard them,) and who since have deserted the church as hating the profession of the ministry.

iv. Many were charged with delivering false doctrine, whose positions were sound, at the least, disputable. Such, those accused for preaching that baptism washeth away original sin, which the most learned and honest in the Assembly in some sense will not deny, namely, that in the children of God it cleanseth the condemning and final, peccable, commanding, power of original sin, though the stain and blemish thereof doth still remain.

v. Some were merely outed for their affections to the king's cause, and what was malignity at London was loyalty at Oxford[u].

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[t] Cent. p. 1.

[u] [Various were the means at this time used by the parliament to bring the clergy into contempt; the strongest militia, as they were truly called, of the king; and therefore the greatest obstacle to the designs both of the parliament and the Presbyterians. The author of "Persecutio Undecima," an eyewitness and a sufferer, has well stated the various wicked endeavours made by the popular faction to render the clergy odious; the passage would be too long to quote entire, but the remarks that follow may suffice as a key to the rest; and furnish an admirable comment upon Fuller's more cautious narrative.

"A fourth way," he says, "to make the clergy odious to "the people was their abetting "all outrages and affronts done "to the persons and functions "of the clergy, insomuch that

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Yea, many moderate men of the opposite party much bemoaned such severity, that some clergymen,

" upon their sending for Burton, " and Prynne, and Bastwick, " (three champions or Puritan " boute-feus,) and the audacious riots and tumults at- " tending their return to London without control, the faction took such encouragement (having found their " strength in the house of commons) in their contempt of " the priest, that a divine in " his habit could not walk the " streets of London without " being reproached in every " corner by name of Baal's " priest, popish priest, Cæsar's " friend, and the like scoffings; " nor durst parishioners shew " their wonted love toward " their spiritual father, nay, " scarce durst they come to " hear him preach without hazard of being accounted a " malignant, if he were so conscientious as not to change " his religion, (as these sectaries would have them). And " now New England so vomited " up her factious spirits, that " merchants in England began " to complain that all commodities in England were fallen " to half their former price; " and each dam and sink of " religion pumped into our " wholesome streams those who " (as witches do their baptism) " had renounced their former " sacred calling to the priesthood, yet now returned the " only admired churchmen, and " were, by orders of the house " of commons, either forced into " other men's churches as lecturers, or thrust into sequestered parsonages, (their fellow subjects' freehold,) which " before themselves had cried " down for Antichristian.

" 5. A fair introduction to " the reproachful usage of the " clergy at committees in the " face of their own parishioners; for having found the " forwardness of the people (by " their first foisted order aforesaid) to serve them in their " designs, the faction in the " house of commons procured " a large committee for religion, (as they called it,) the " Puritans' main engine against " the church, dividing it into " many sub-committees; as " Mr. White's committee, Mr. " Corbet's committee, sir Robert Haslow's committee, sir " Edward Deering's committee, " and divers others, upon pretence of hearing the multitudes of petitions daily " brought in against scandalous " ministers, (as the term was,) " which committees were made " as several stages for continual " clergy-baitings. Mine ears " still tingle at the loud clamours and shoutings there " made (especially at the committee which sat at the court " of wards) in derision of grave " and reverend divines, by that " rabble of sectaries which " daily flocked thither to see " this new pastime, where the " committee members, out of " their vast privilege to abuse " any man (though their betters; some members of con-

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blameless for life and orthodox for doctrine, were only ejected on the account of their faithfulness to the king's cause. And as much corruption was let out by this ejection, (many scandalous ministers deservedly punished,) so at the same time the veins of the English church were also emptied of much good blood, (some inoffensive pastors,) which hath made her body hydropical ever since; ill humours succeeding in the room, by reason of too large and sudden evacuation. But others of a more violent temper excused all, the present necessity of the cause requiring it. All pulpits in the parliament

"vocation, whose privileges "are, and by law ought to be, "as large as those of the house "of commons,) without con"trol, have been pleased to "call the members of Christ "brought before them, (by "gaolers and pursuivants, and "placed like heinous malefac"tors, without their bar, bare"headed forsooth!) *saucy* "*jacks, base fellows, brazen*-"*faced fellows;* and in great "scorn hath the cap of a known "orthodox doctor, (Dr. Halsy,) "been called to be pulled off "to see if he were not a shaven "popish priest; and upon a "person's evidence for one of "his parishioners, that he was "no Papist, (which evidence "in such cases is and ought to "be authentical,) it was re"plied by a committee, '*Have* "*you no witness but a base* "*priest?*' And to some emi"nent doctors in divinity of "the City of London, viz. Dr. "Baker, Dr. Borough, Dr. "Walton, giving testimony in "a cause then before them, it "was said by a citizen member "of that committee, Isaac Pen"nington, '*What shall we be*"*lieve these doctors for?*' And "sir Robert Horton, going to "his committee chair, (the "chair of the scorner,) bragged "to his friend how he would "bait the dean of Christ"Church (Dr. Fell). And after "such like usage, with charge"able and long attendance, *de* "*die in diem*, on these commit"tees, as many clergymen as "were brought to the stake to "be bated (right or wrong) "were sure to be ousted of "their livings, else their good "and godly people were not "pleased; that the souls of "many honest and faithful "ministers of Christ were so "filled with the scorn of the "period, who thus had them "in derision, that they died "for very grief, as did Dr. "Halsy, and Dr. Clarke, and "divers others." p. 22.]

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The first Century—why without a second.

33. Then came forth a book called the First Century[x], containing the names of an hundred divines, sequestered for their faults, with a promise of a second, which to my knowledge never came forth. Whether because the author of the former was sensible that the subject was generally odious, or because the death of Mr. White[y], licenser thereof, prevented any addition, or whether, because dissuaded from the design, suspecting a retaliation from Oxford. Sure I have been informed, that when some solicited his majesty for leave to set forth a book of the vicious lives of some parliament ministers, his

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[x] ["The First Century of "Scandalous Malignant Priests, "made and admitted into benefices by the prelates in "whose hands the ordination "of ministers and government "of the Church hath been, "&c." Lond. 1643.]

[y] [He died the following year, in a state of distraction, according to the author of *Persecutio Undecima*, p. 18. "Crying out how many clergymen, their wives and children, he had undone." The Puritans, in these proceedings against the regular and conformable clergy, acted upon the maxim,—*audacter calumniare hærebit aliquid;* but the author of this pamphlet was of so infamous a character; the charges which he shifted so false and frequently malevolent, that it did the clergy little harm. So much were their opponents chagrined with the reception of this Century, that they hazarded not the production of a second. See a further account of this pamphlet in Walker's "Sufferings "of the Clergy," i. p. 47; and of White himself in Wood's Athen. ii. p. 70. The author of Persecutio Undecima has sufficiently exposed the falsehood, calumny, and immorality of White and his pamphlet. See p. 26, sq.]

majesty blasted the design, partly because recrimination is no purgation; partly lest the public enemy of the protestant religion should make an advantage thereof.

Vacant livings, how supplied.

34. To supply the vacant places, many young students (whose orders got the speed of their degrees) left the universities. Other ministers turned duallists and pluralists, it being now charity, what was formerly covetousness, to hold two or three benefices. These could plead for themselves the practice of Mr. Sanders, the martyr[z], who held two livings at good distance, because he could not resign one but into the hands of a Papist, as these men would not surrender them to malignants. Many vicarages of great cure but small value were without ministers, (whilst rich matches have many suitors, they may die virgins that have no portions to prefer them,) which was often complained of, seldom redressed, it passing for a current maxim, it was safer for people to fast than to feed on the poison of malignant pastors.

Dissenting brethren first appear in the assembly.

35. Let us now look a little into the assembly of divines, where we shall not find them (as we might justly expect) all of one tongue and of one language, there being some not concurring with the major part, and therefore styled dissenting brethren. I know the Scotch writers call them of the separation, but because mollifying terms are the best poultices to be applied to the first swellings of church differences, we decline these words of distaste. They are also commonly called Independents, though they themselves (if summoned by that name) will return

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[z] Fox's Acts and Monuments, p. 1494, in an. 1555.

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no *vous avez* thereunto, as to a word odious and offensive in the common sound and notation thereof. For independency, taken for absolute subsistence, without relation to, 1, God, is profane and blasphemous; 2, king or state, is seditious and treacherous; 3, other churches, is proud and ambitious; 4, particular Christians, is churlish and uncharitable. These dissenting brethren, or congregationalists, were but five in the assembly[a], though many more of their judgments dispersed in the land; namely, 1. Thomas Goodwin, bred first in Christ's College, then fellow of Katherine Hall, in Cambridge; 2. Philip Nye, who had his education in Oxford: 3. William Bridge, fellow of Emanuel College in Cambridge; all three still alive; 4. Sidrach Simpson, of Queen's College in Cambridge; 5. Jeremiah Burroughs, of Emanuel College in Cambridge, both deceased[b]. It is our unhappiness, that in writing their story we have little save what we have collected out of the writings of pens professedly engaged against them, and therefore the less credit is to be given thereunto. However, in this narration there is nothing of my own, so that if any falsehoods therein, they must be charged on their account whom the reader shall behold cited in the margin; otherwise, I confess my personal respects to some of the aforenamed dissenters for favours received from them.

36. Some ten years since the sinful corruptions (to

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[a] [Baillie however speaks of there being "ten or eleven in "the synod, many of them very "able men," and then enumerates besides those mentioned by Fuller, Carter, Caryl, Phillips, and Sterey. Lett. 39.]

[b] [They were the authors of the pamphlet hereafter frequently quoted by Fuller, entitled, "An Apologetical Nar-"ration, humbly submitted to "both Houses of Parliament," Lond. 1643.]

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The cause of their first departing the land.

use their own language[c]) of the worship and government in this church, taking hold on their consciences, unable any longer to comport therewith, they deserted their native country. This we believe the true cause of their departure, not what some suggest[d], that one for debt and another for danger (to answer some ill interpreted words concerning the Scots) were forced to forsake the land. And although I will not say they left not an hoof of their estates behind them here, they will confess they conveyed over the most considerable part thereof. Many wealthy merchants and their families went over with them, so that of all exiles (for so they style themselves) these may seem most like voluntary travellers for good company, though of all travellers most like to exiles.

Are kindly entertained in Holland.

37. Their reception beyond the seas in Holland was fair and civil, where the States (who, though they tolerate, own not all religions) were interpreted to acknowledge them and their churches by many signs of their favour. First, by granting them their own churches to assemble in for divine worship, where their own countrymen met also the same day (but at different hours) for the same purpose: by permitting the ringing of a bell[e], to call people to their public meetings, which loudly sounded the States' consent unto them, as not allowed to such clandestine sects, which shelter themselves rather under the permission than protection thereof: by assigning a full and liberal maintenance annually

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[c] Apol. Nar. p. 2.

[d] Mr. Edwards in his Answer to the Apol. Nar. ["Antapologia, or a full Answer "to the Apologetical Narration of Mr. Goodwin, &c.; "wherein is handled many of "the controversies of these "times." Lond. 1644.]

[e] Apol. Nar. p. 7.

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for their ministers, as also wine for their communions.

Nor can there be a better evidence of giving the right hand of fellowship than to give the full hand of liberality. A moiety of this people fixed at Rotterdam, where they landed; the other travelled up higher for better air to Wianen, and thence soon after removed to Arnhein, a sweet and pleasant city. No part of Holland (largely taken[f]) affording more of England therein, resembled in their letters to their friends to Hertford, or Bury in Suffolk.

How qualified to find out the truth.

38. Then fall they to consult of church discipline, professing themselves a mere *abrasa tabula*, with virgin judgments, longing only to be married to the truth. Yea, they looked "upon the word of Christ" (reader, it is their own expression[g],) "as impartially "and unprejudicially as men made of flesh and blood "are like to do in any juncture of time that may "fall out; the place they went to, the condition "they were in, the company they went forth with, "affording no temptation to bias them any way."

Their two chief groundworks.

39. And first, they lay down two grand groundworks on which their following fabric was to be erected.

i. Only to take what was held forth in God's word, leaving nothing to church practice or human prudence, as but the iron legs and clay toes of that statue whose head and whole body ought to be of pure Scripture gold.

ii. Not to make their present judgment binding unto them for the future.

Their adversaries cavil hereat, as a reserve able to rout all the armies of arguments which are brought against them, that because one day teacheth another, they will not be tied on Tuesday morning to maintain their tenets on Monday night, if a new discovery intervene.

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[f] Otherwise Arnhein is in Gelderland.

[g] Apol. Nar. p. 3.

Coordination of churches.

40. In pursuance of these principles they pitched on a middle way (as generally the posture of truth) betwixt presbytery, as too rigorous, imperious, and conclusive, and Brownism, as too vague, loose, and uncertain[h]. Their main platform was, that churches should not be subordinate, parochial to provincial, provincial to national, (as daughter to mother, mother to grandmother,) but coordinate, without superiority, except seniority of sisters, containing no powerful influence therein. Thus the church, formerly like a chain with links of dependency on one another, should hereafter become like an heap of rings, each entire in itself, but (as they thought) far purer than was ever seen before.

The manner of their church service;

41. The manner of their church service, according to their own relation[i], was performed in the form following: public and solemn prayers for kings and all in authority; reading the scriptures of the Old and New Testament, with exposition thereof on occasion; administration of the two sacraments, baptism to infants, and the Lord's supper; singing of psalms, and collection for the poor every Lord's day; for public officers they had pastors, teachers, and ruling elders, (not lay but ecclesiastic persons,) and deacons. As for church censures, they resolved only on admonition and excommunication, the latter whereof was never handselled in their church[k], as

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[h] Apol. Nar. p. 24.

[i] Ibid. p. 8.

[k] Ibid. p. 9.

no reason that the rod, though made, should be used where the children are all quiet and dutiful. Synods they account useful, and in some cases necessary, yet so that their power is but official, not authoritative, whereby they may declare the truth, not enjoin obedience thereunto. Or take it in the language of one of their grandees: *octus regiminis a synodis debent porrigi non peragi*[l], the latter belonging to the liberty of several congregations. Their adversaries' object, that none can give in an exact account of all their opinions, daily capable of alteration and increase; while such countries, whose unmovable mountains and stable valleys keep a fixed position, may be easily surveyed, no geographer can accurately describe some part of Arabia, where the flitting sands driven with the winds have their frequent removals, so that the traveller findeth a hole at his return where he left a hill at his departure. Such the uncertainty of these congregationalists in their judgments, only they plead for themselves, it is not the wind of every doctrine[m], but the sun of the truth which with its new lights makes them renounce their old and embrace new resolutions.

are always for new lights.

A schism in Rotterdam church.

42. Soon after a heavy schism happened in the church of Rotterdam betwixt Mr. Bridge and Mr. Simpson, the two pastors thereof; insomuch that the latter, rent himself, (saith one[n],) from Mr. Bridge his church, to the great offence thereof; though more probable, as another reporteth[o], Mr. Simpson was dis-

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[l] Responsio [ad Guil. Apollonii Syllogen ad componendas controversias in Anglia. Lond. 1648.] Jo. Norton, p. 114.

[m] Eph. iv. 15. Mr. Cotton his preface to Mr. Norton's book.

[n] Mr. Edwards ut prius, p. 35.

[o] Mr. John Goodwin in answer to Mr. Edwards. p. 238.

missed with the consent of the church. However, many bitter letters passed betwixt them, and more sent over to their friends in England full of invectives, blackness of the tongue always accompanying the paroxysms of such distempers. Their presbyterian adversaries make great use hereof to their disgrace[q]. If such infant churches, whilst their hands could scarce hold any thing, fell a scratching, and their feet spurning and kicking one another before they could well go alone, how stubborn and vexatious would they be when arrived at riper years!

A second schism in the same church.

43. This schism was seconded with another in the same church, wherein they deposed one of their ministers, (Mr. Ward I conceive his name,) which was beheld as a bold and daring deed, especially because herein they consulted not their sister church at Arnhein, which publicly was professed mutually to be done in cases of concernment. Here the presbyterians triumph in their conceived discovery of the nakedness and weakness of the congregational way, which for want of ecclesiastical subordination is too short to reach out a redress to such grievances. For seeing *par in parem non habet potestatem*, "equals "have no power over their equals," the aggrieved party could not right himself by any appeal unto a superior. But such consider not the end as well as the beginning of this difference, wherein the church of Arnhein[r] interposing, (not as a judge to punish offenders, but as a brother to check the failings of a brother,) matters were so ordered, that Mr. Ward was restored to his place, when both he and the church had mutually confessed their sinful carriage

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[q] Mr. John Goodwin in answer to Mr. Edwards, p. 245.

[r] Apol. Nar. p. 21.

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in the matter; but enough, (if not too much hereof,) seeing every thing put in a pamphlet is not fit to be recorded in a chronicle.

The practice of Arnhein church.

44. More concord crowned the congregation at Arnhein, where Mr. Goodwin and Mr. Nye were pastors, wherein besides those church ordinances formerly mentioned, actually admitted and exercised, some others stood candidates and fair probationers on their good behaviour, namely, if under trial they were found convenient; such were

i. The holy kiss[s].

ii. Prophesyings[t] when private Christians at fit times made public use of their parts and gifts in the congregation.

iii Hymns[u], and, which if no better divinity than music, might much be scrupled at,

iv. Widows[x], as essential she-ministers in the church, which if it be so, our late civil wars in England have afforded us plenty for the place.

v. Anointing of dying people, as a standing apostolical[y] ordinance.

The five exiles return home.

45. Other things were in agitation, when now the news arriveth, that the parliament sitting at Westminster had broken the yoke of ceremonies, and proclaimed a year of jubilee to all tender consciences. Home then they hasted with all convenient speed; for only England is England indeed, though some parts of Holland may be like unto it. Over they came in a very good plight and equipage, which the presbyterians (and those I assure you are quick-sighted when pleased to pry) took notice of. Not a

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[s] 1 Cor. xvi. 20.

[t] 1 Cor. xiv.

[u] Eph. v. 19, and Col. iii. 16.

[x] 1 Tim. v. 9.

[y] James v. 14.

hair of their head singed, nor any smell of the fire of persecution upon their clothes. However they were not to be blamed, if 'setting their best foot forward' in their return, and appearing in the handsomest and cheerfullest fashion for the credit of their cause, and to shew that they were not dejected with their sufferings.

Gather churches in England.

46. Presently they fall upon gathering of congregations, but chiefly in or about the city of London. Trent may be good, and Severn better, but oh the Thames is the best for the plentiful taking of fish therein. They did pick (I will not say steal) hence a master, thence a mistress of a family, a son out of a third, a servant out of a fourth parish, all which met together in their congregation. Some prevented calling, by their coming, of old parishioners to become new church members, and so forward were they of themselves, that they needed no force to compel nor art to persuade them. Thus a new inn never wanteth guests at the first setting up, especially if hanging out a fair sign, and promising more cleanness and neatness than is in any of their neighbours.

The presbyterians offended.

47. The presbyterians found themselves much aggrieved hereat. They accounted this practice of the dissenting brethren but ecclesiastical felony, or at the best that they were but spiritual interlopers for the same. They justly feared (if this fashion continued) the falling of the roof, or foundering of the foundations of their own parishes, whence so many corner stones, pillars, rafters, and beams, were taken by the other to build their congregations. They complained that these new pastors, though slighting tithes and set maintenance, yet so ordered the matter by gathering their churches, that these

gleanings of Ephraim became better than the vintage of Abi-ezer.

Dissenting brethren crave a toleration.

48. Not long after, when the Assembly of divines was called, these five congregationalists were chosen members thereof, but came not up with a full consent to all things acted therein. As accounting that the pressing of an exact occurrence to the presbyterian government was but a kind of a conscience-prison, whilst accurate conformity to the Scotch church was the very dungeon thereof; "a regimine "ecclesiastico," say they[z], "uti nunc in Scotia viget "longius distamus, quippe quod (ut nobis videtur) "non tantum a scripturis, sed ab ecclesiarum refor-"matarum suorumque theologorum sententiis (qui "sub episcoporum tyrannide diu duriterque passi "sunt) plurimum distat." No wonder therefore if they desired a toleration to be indulged them, and they excused for being concluded by the votes of the Assembly.

Opposed by others.

49. But the presbyterians highly opposed their toleration, and such who desired most ease and liberty for their sides when bound with episcopacy, now girt their own government the closest about the consciences of others. They tax the dissenting brethren for singularity, as if these men (like the five senses of the church) should discover more in matter of discipline than all the Assembly besides, some moving their ejection out of the same, except in some convenient time they would comply therewith[a].

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[z] In their epistle to the reader prefixed to Mr. Norton's book.

[a] Apol. Nar. p. 2. [Like other spawn of the same kind, this work had its origin in the interminable debates and bickerings of the Assembly of di-

But favoured by the parliament.

50. Hopeless to speed here, the dissenters seasonably presented an apologetical narrative to the parliament, styled by them "the most sacred refuge and "asylum for mistaken and misjudged innocence." Herein they petitioned pathetically for some favour, whose conscience could not join with the Assembly in all particulars, concluding with that pitiful close, (enough to force tears from any tender heart,) that "they[b] pursued no other interest or design but a "subsistence (be it the poorest and meanest) in "their own land, as not knowing where else with "safety, health, and livelihood to set their feet on "earth," and subscribed their names:—

"Thomas Goodwin. Sidrach Simson. William Bridge.
"Philip Nye. Jeremiah Burroughs."

If since their condition be altered and bettered,

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vines. Dr. Baillie, who was a rigid presbyterian, earnest for the parliamentary establishment of the Scottish observances, complains bitterly of the waste of time and of the heart-burnings caused by the dissenting brethren, that is, the Independents. They resorted to various manœuvres to prolong the time, as finding that their party gained strength by the delay. After several sessions and debates to no purpose, at which the Independents held off with long weapons, and debated all things with the utmost prolixity, which "came "within twenty miles of their "quarters, foreseeing that they "behoved ere long to come to "the point, they put out in "print on a sudden an Apolo-"getical Narration of their "way, which long had lien "ready beside them, wherein "they petition the parliament "in a most sly and cunning "way for a toleration, and "withal had too bold wipes to "all the reformed churches, "as imperfect yet in their re-"formation, while (until) their "new model be embraced, "which they set out so well "as they are able. This piece "abruptly they presented to "the Assembly, giving to every "member a copy; also they "gave books to some of either "house.—The thing in itself "coming out at this time, was "very apt to have kindled a "fire, and it seems both the "Devil and some men intend-"ed it." Lett. 43.]

[b] Ibid. p. 31.

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that they (then wanting where to set their feet) since lie down at their length in the fat of the land, surely they have returned proportionable gratitude to God for the same. Sure it is that at the present these petitioners found such favour with some potent persons in parliament, that they were secured from further trouble, and from lying at a posture of defence, are now grown able, not only to encounter, but invade all opposers, yea, to open and shut the door of preferment to others; so unsearchable are the dispensations of divine Providence in making sudden and unexpected changes, (as in whole nations,) so in private men's estates, according to the counsel of his will.

New England churches congregationalists.

51. Such as desire further instruction in the tenets of these congregationalists may have their recourse to those many pamphlets written *pro* and *con* thereof. The worst is, some of them speak so loud we can scarce understand what they say, so hard is it to collect their judgments, such the violence of their passions. Only I will add, that for the main the churches of New England are the same in discipline with these dissenting brethren.

The rest referred to Mr. Norton's book.

52. Only I will add, that of all the authors I have perused concerning the opinions of these dissenting brethren, none to me was more informative than Mr. John Norton, (one of no less learning than modesty,) minister in New England, in his answer to Apollonius Pastor in the church of Middleborough.

Mr. Herle succeedeth prolocutor to Dr. Twiss.

53. Look we now again into the Assembly of divines, where we find Dr. Cornelius Burgess and Mr. Herbert Palmer the assessors therein, and I am informed by some (more skilful in such niceties than

myself) that two at the least of that office are of the quorum essential to every lawful assembly. But I demiss Dr. William Twiss, their prolocutor, lately deceased; he was bred in New College in Oxford, good with the trowel, but better with the sword, more happy in polemical divinity than edifying doctrine. Therefore he was chosen[d] by the state of Holland to be professor of divinity there, which he thankfully refused. Mr. Charles Herle, fellow of Exeter college of Oxford, succeeded him in his place, one so much Christian, scholar, and gentleman, that he can unite in affection with those who are disjoined in judgment from him[e].

Mr. Selden's puzzling queries.

54. The Assembly met with many difficulties, some complaining of Mr. Selden, that advantaged by his skill in antiquity, common law, and the oriental tongues, he employed them rather to pose than

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[d] See his dedication to them in his book called Vindiciæ Gratiæ. [Dr. Baillie, to whose Journal such frequent reference has been made, seems to have entertained no very exalted opinion of Dr. Twiss. "The prolocutor at the beginning and end has a short "prayer. The man, as the "world goes, is very learned in "the questions he has studied, "and very good and beloved of "all, and highly esteemed; but "merely bookish, and not much "as it seems acquaint with "conceived prayer; among the "unfittest of all the company "for any action; so after the "prayer he sits mute. It was "the canny conveyance of these, "who guide most matters for "their own interest, to plant "such a man of purpose in "the chair. The one assessor, "our good friend Dr. Burgess, "a very active and sharp man, "supplies, so far as is decent, "the prolocutor's place; the "other, our good friend Mr. "Whyte, has kept in of the "gout since our coming."]

[e] [He became an Independent. But how Fuller could pass this eulogium upon him is strange; since Herle was one of the committee for examining the loyal clergy, whom the puritans called the scandalous and malignant ministers, in which office he behaved with extreme severity and injustice. See his Life in Wood's Ath. ii. p. 237. But this is not the only occasion in which Fuller truckled too much to the times.]

profit, perplex than inform the members thereof, in the fourteen queries he propounded. Whose intent therein was to humble the *jure-divino-ship* of presbytery, which though hinted and held forth, is not so made out in Scripture, but being too scant on many occasions it must be pieced with prudential additions. This great scholar, not overloving of any (and least of all these) clergymen, delighted himself in raising of scruples for the vexing of others, and some stick not to say, that those who will not feed on the flesh of God's word, cast most bones to others to break their teeth therewith.

Erastians why so called, and what they held.

55. More trouble was caused to the Assembly by the opinions of the Erastians, and it is worth our inquiry into the first author thereof. They were so called from Thomas Erastus, a doctor of physic, born at Baden in Switzerland, lived professor in Heidelberg, and died at Basil about the year one thousand five hundred eighty three. He was of the privy council to Frederic, the first protestant prince Palatine of that name, and this Erastus (like our Mr. Perkins) being lame[f] of his right, wrote all with his left hand, and amongst the rest, one against Theodore Beza, *de excommunicatione*, to this effect, that the power and excommunication in a Christian state principally resides in secular power as the most competent judge, when and how the same shall be exercised.

The Erastians in the Assembly.

Mr. John Coleman, a modest and learned man, beneficed in Lincolnshire, and Mr. John Lightfoot, well skilled in rabbinical learning, were the chief members of the Assembly, who (for the main) maintained the tenets of Erastus. These often produced the Hebrew original for the power of princes in ecclesiastical matters. For though the New Testament be silent of the temporal magistrate (princes then being pagans) his intermeddling in church-matters, the Old is very vocal therein, where the authority of the kings of Judah, as nursing fathers to the church, is very considerable.

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[f] Thuanus in Obit. Vir. Illustr. anno 1583. [See also his Theses, p. 350. Pescl. 1589.]

Favourably listened to.

57. No wonder if the prince palatine (constantly present at their debates) heard the Erastians with much delight, as welcoming their opinions for country sake, (his natives as first born in Heidelberg,) though otherwise in his own judgment no favourer thereof. But other parliament-men listened very favourably to their arguments, (interest is a good quickener of attention,) hearing their own power enlarged thereby, and making use of these Erastians for a check to such who pressed conformity to the Scotch kirk in all particulars.

The Assembly shrewdly checked.

58. Indeed, once the Assembly stretched themselves beyond their own line, in meddling with what was not committed by the parliament to their cognizance and consultation, for which they were afterward staked down, and tied up with a shorter tedder. For though the wise parliament made use of the presbyterian zeal and activity for the extirpation of bishops, yet they discreetly resolved to hold a strict hand over them; as not coming by their own power to advise, but called to advise with the parliament. Nor were they to cut out their own work, but to make up what was cut to their own hands, and seeing a *præmunire* is a rod as well for a presbyter as a prelate, (if either trespass on the state by their over activity,) though they felt not this rod, it was

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shewed to them, and shaked over them, and they shrewdly and justly shent for their overmeddling, which made them the wiser and warier for the time to come.

The Scotch discipline in vain strived for.

59. Indeed, the major part of the Assembly endeavoured the settling of the Scotch government in all particulars, that though Tweed parted their countries, nothing might divide their church discipline, and this was laboured by the Scotch commissioners with all industry and probable means to obtain the same; but it could not be effected, nor was it ever settled by act of parliament. For as in heraldry the same seeming lions in colour and posture (rampant and langued alike) are not the self-same, if the one be armed with nails and teeth, the other deprived of both, so cannot the English be termed the same with the Scotch presbytery, the former being in a manner absolute in itself, the latter depended on the state in the execution of the power thereof.

Coercive power kept in the parliament.

60. Insomuch, that the parliament kept the coercive power in their own hands, not trusting them to carry the keys at their girdle, so that the power of excommunication was not intrusted with them, but ultimately resolved into a committee of eminent persons of parliament, whereof Thomas, earl of Arundel, (presumed present because absent with leave beyond the seas,) is the first person nominated.

Uxbridge fruitless treaty.

61. A treaty was kept at Uxbridge betwixt the commissioners of the king and parliament, many well-meaning people promising themselves good success thereby, whilst others thought this treaty was born with a dying countenance, saying there wanted a third to interpose to make their distances up by

powerful persuasion, no hope of good in either without condescension in both parties. One may smile at their inference, who presumed that the king's commissioners, coming to Uxbridge two parts of three to meet those of the parliament, would proportionably comply in their yieldings. A weak topical conjecture, confuted by the formerly going of the parliament's commissioners clean through to Oxford, and yet little condescension to their propositions[g].

Mr. Love's indiscretion.

62. Here Mr. Christopher Love (waiting on the parliament commissioners in a general relation) gave great offence to the royalists in his sermon[h], shewing the impossibility of an agreement, such the dangerous errors and malicious practices of the opposite party; many condemned his want of charity, more of discretion in this juncture of time, when there should be a cessation from invectives for the time being. But men's censures must fall the more lightly upon his memory, because since he hath suffered, and so satisfied here for his faults in this or any other kind[i].

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[g] [All the material papers and proceedings of this treaty will be found in Dugdale's Short View of the late Troubles, &c. p. 737. The originals are in Thurloe's Collection now preserved in the Bodleian. It began at Uxbridge Jan. 30th, 1644. See also the particulars of it in Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, v. 36.]

[h] [See Dugdale's Short View, p. 764.]

[i] [He suffered in 1651; having been accused by the Independents (falsely, in order to cause his destruction) of bringing in Charles II, the Presbyterians having now become so thoroughly incensed against their rivals, as to be willing to make any sacrifice to obtain their revenge. The little commiseration that this vain and weak man met withal, was a just retribution for his conduct towards his sovereign; and a striking illustration of the warning given in the Psalms, that the bloodthirsty man shall not live out half his days. See his Life in Wood's Athen. ii. p. 136.]

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The conference of divines.

63. With the commissioners on both sides certain clergymen were sent in their presence to debate the point of church government.

For the king.	*For the parliament.*
Dr. [Richard] Stewart.	Mr. Stephen Marshall.
Dr. [Gilbert] Sheldon.	Mr. Richard Vines.
Dr. Benjamin Laney.	
Dr. Henry Hammond.	
Dr. Henry Ferne.	

These, when the commissioners were at leisure from civil affairs, were called to a conference before them.

Dr. Laney might not be heard.

64. Dr. Laney proffered to prove the great benefits which had accrued to God's church in all ages by the government by bishops; but the Scotch commissioners would in no wise hear him, whereupon the doctor was contentedly silent. Some discourses rather than disputes passed betwixt Dr. Stewart and Mr. Marshall, leaving no great impressions in the memories of those that were present thereat.

An argument *ad homines* if not *ad causas*.

65. Only Mr. Vines was much applauded by his own party, for proving the sufficiency of ordination by presbyters, because ministers made by Presbyterian government in France and the Low Countries were owned and acknowledged by our bishops for lawfully ordained for all intents and purposes, both to preach and sacramentize, and no reordination required of them. Thus the goodness of bishops in their charity to others was made use of against themselves, and the necessity of the episcopal function.

Books made by the Assembly.

65. To return to the Assembly; the monuments which they have left to posterity of their meeting are chiefly these: Articles of Religion drawn up by them, and a double Catechism; one the lesser, the other the greater; whereof at first very few were

printed for parliament men, meaner folk not attaining so great a treasure, besides their Directory, whereof hereafter.

The Assembly rather sinketh than endeth.

67. As for the conclusion of this Assembly, it dwindled away by degrees, though never legally dissolved[j]; many of them, after the taking of

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[j] [The truth is, they never could come to any agreement; the Independents daily growing too strong to be put down, contrary to the hopes of the Presbyterians. They had been admitted into the assembly at the first without suspicion, indeed with the expectation that they might be reasoned into some conformity with the rest, or if not, the Presbyterians reckoned upon possessing sufficient influence to force their compliance. "We trust to carry (all) "at last, (says Baillie); with "the contentment of sundry "once opposite, and silence "of all their divine and scriptural institution. This is a "point of high consequence, "and upon no other we expect "so great difficulty, except "alone on Independency;— "*wherewith we purpose not to* "*meddle in haste, till it please* "*God to advance our army,* "which we expect will much assist our arguments. However, "we are not desperate of some "accommodation; for Goodwin, Burroughs, and Bridges "are men full, as it seems "yet, of grace and modesty; "if they shall prove otherwise, "the body of the Assembly and "parliament, city and county, "will disclaim them." Lett. 39. A few days after we find him thus writing: "In the time of "this anarchy the divisions of "people do much increase; "the Independent party grows, "but the Anabaptists more, "and the Antinomians most. "The Independents being most "able men and of great credit, "fearing no less than banishment from their native country of Presbyteries here erected, are watchful that no "conclusion be taken to their "prejudice. It was my advice, which Mr. Henderson "presently applauded, and "gave me thanks for it, to "eschew a public rupture with "the Independents till we were "more able for them; as yet "a presbytery to this people "is conceived to be a strange "monster." Lett. 40. He soon found reason, however, to change his tone, and his subsequent letters are full of invectives against the sectaries, as he calls them. They outmanœuvred the Presbyterians turning their designs upon their own heads. It was in reality a trial of strength, not of reason or justice; and as the influence of the Scotch and the credit of their armies declined, their power in the assembly declined also. The Independents also in their turn learned what advantage their cause derived by the success of those in the army who pro-

A. D. 1644. 20 Chas. I. Oxford, returning to their own cures, and others living in London absented themselves, as disliking

fessed their principles; and they pushed their advantage to the uttermost. Having induced Cromwell to join them, or rather being led by him whose interests and judgments were the same, they took every opportunity of increasing his fame and popularity; whatever honour was gained by other men's valour and good conduct, was cast upon him. As Walker tells us, "the news-books "were taught to speak no language but Cromwell and his "party; and were mute in "such actions as he and they "could claim no share in;— "when any great exploit was "half achieved, and the difficulties overcome, Cromwell "was sent to finish it and take "the glory to himself; all other "men must be eclipsed, that "Cromwell (the knight of the "sun, and Don Quixote of the "Independents) and his party "may shine the brighter."— History of Independ. i. p. 30. The result might be easily foreseen; as the Independents and their party increased, they cared but little for the Assembly or its sanction; and ended with despising it and its members altogether. From this period, Baillie's letters are full of the humiliation and disappointment experienced by himself and his fellow commissioners from Scotland. At one time he says: "Our hearts here "are oft much weighted and "wounded by many hands. "Our wrestlings with devils "and men are great: however "the body of this people be as "great as any people, yet they "that rule all are much opposite to our desires. Some "very few guide all now at "their pleasure, only through "the default of our army. For "this long time they have not "trusted us." Lett. 119. Elsewhere: "All here is in the balance. In the assembly we "are going on languidly with "the Confession of Faith and "Catechism. The minds of "the divines are much enfeebled.——Mr. Prynne and "the Erastian lawyers" (which are a large portion of the house) "are now our *remora.* "The Independents and sects "are quiet, enjoying peaceably "all their desires and increasing daily their party. They "speak no more of bringing "their model to the Assembly. "We are afraid of this shameful and monstrous delay of "building the Lord's house, "and their ingratitude and unkindness to us in our deep "sufferings for them will provoke God against them; "which we oft earnestly deprecate." Lett. 117. This concluding remark, with which also I must terminate this note, looks like dissimulation, but it is the unintentional dissimulation of one who had deceived himself. Unperceived perhaps by themselves, their own profit and aggrandizement had become the leading motive of his and his coadjutors' actions: could they wonder that from such sowing they reaped only the managing of matters. Such as remained (having survived their great respect) and being too few to maintain the dignity of an Assembly, contented themselves with the notion of a committee, chiefly employed to examine their abilities and good affections, who were presented to livings; till at last, as in philosophy, *accidentia non corrumpuntur sed desinunt,* they vanish with the parliament, and now the execution of the archbishop of Canterbury comes next under our pen, whose trial being most of civil concernment is so largely done in a book of that subject, that by us it may be justly omitted[k].

The archbishop prepares for death.

68. Next followed the execution of the archbishop of Canterbury, sheriff Chambers of London bringing over night the warrant for the same and acquainting him therewith. In preparation to so sad a work, he betook himself to his own, and desired also the prayers of others, and particularly of Dr. Holdsworth, fellow prisoner in that place for a year and half; though all that time there had not been the least converse betwixt them. On the morrow he was brought out of the tower to the scaffold, which he ascended with a cheerful countenance, (as rather to gain a crown than lose a head,) imputed by his friends to the clearedness, by his foes to the searedness, of his conscience. The beholders that day were so divided betwixt bemoaners and insulters, it was hard to decide which of them made up the major part of the company.

And preacheth his own funeral sermon.

69. He made a sermon speech, taking for his text the two first verses of the twelfth chapter of the epistle to the Hebrews: *Let us run with patience*

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ingratitude? "*Hæc seges in-* "*gratos tulit, et feret omnibus* "*annis.*"]

[k] By Prynne in his Breviate.

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the race which is set before us; looking unto Jesus the author and finisher of our faith, who for the joy that was set before him endured the cross, despising the shame, and is set down at the right hand of the throne of God. Craving leave to make use of his notes, (for the infirmity of his aged memory,) he dilated thereon about half an hour, which discourse, because common, (as publicly printed,) we here forbear to insert[l]. For the main, he protested his own innocence and integrity, as never intending any subversion of laws and liberty; no enemy to parliaments, (though a misliker of some miscarriages,) and a protestant in doctrine and discipline according to the established laws of the land; speech ended, he betook himself a while to his prayers, and afterwards prepared himself for the fatal stroke.

Questioned about the assurance of his salvation, and dieth.

70. Sir John Clotworthy (a member of the house of commons) being present, interrogated him concerning his assurance of salvation, and whereon the same was grounded[m]. Some censured this interruption for uncivil and unseasonable, as intended to ruffle his soul with passion, just as he was fairly folding it up to deliver it into the hands of his Redeemer. But the archbishop calmly returned, that his assurance was evidenced unto him by that inward comfort which he found in his own soul. Then lying down on the block, and praying, *Lord, receive my soul,* the executioner dexterously did his office, and at one blow severed his head from his body. Instantly his face (ruddy in the last moment)

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[l] [It is printed in Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 531.]

[m] [This indecent fanatic seems to have acted the same part towards the archbishop that Cheynell did towards Chillingworth. See Heylin, ibid. p. 536.]

turned white as ashes, confuting their falsehoods who gave it out that he had purposely painted it, to fortify his cheeks against discovery of fear in the paleness of his complexion. His corpse was privately interred in the church of Allhallows Barking, without any solemnity, save that some will say, he had (in those days) a fair funeral who had the Common Prayer read thereat[n].

His birth in Reading, breeding in Oxford.

71. He was born anno 1573, of honest parents, at Reading in Berkshire, a place, for the position thereof, almost equally distanced from Oxford, the scene of his breeding, and London, the principal stage of his preferment. His mother was sister to sir William Webb, (born also at Reading,) salter, and anno 1591 lord mayor of London[o]. Here the archbishop afterwards built an almshouse, and endowed it with two hundred pounds per annum, as appeareth by his own diary, which, if evidence against him for his faults, may be used as a witness of his good works. Hence was he sent to St. John's College in Oxford, where he attained to such eminency of learning, that one[p] since hath ranked him amongst the greatest scholars of our nation. He afterwards married Charles Blount, earl of Devonshire, to the lady Rich, which proved (if intended an advantage under his feet, to make him higher in the notice of the world) a covering to his face, and was often cast a rub in his way, when running

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[n] [He was executed Jan. 10, 1645, on Tower-hill; at first he was sentenced to be hanged, drawn, and quartered; afterwards to be simply beheaded. The body was finally removed and interred in the chapel of St. John's College in Oxford.]

[o] [See Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 46.]

[p] [See "The Appeal, &c." part iii. p. 60.] Dr. Heylin in his last edition of the Microcosm.

in his full speed to preferment, till after some difficulty his greatness at the last made a shift to stride over it.

He chargeth thorough all church preferments.

72. In some sort he may be said to have served in all offices in the church, from a common soldier to a kind of general therein. There was neither order, office, degree, nor dignity in college, church, or university, but he passed thorough it. 1. *Order*, deacon, priest, bishop, archbishop. 2. *Office*, scholar, fellow, president of St. John's College, proctor, and chancellor of Oxford. 3. *Degree*, bachelor and master of arts, bachelor and doctor of divinity. 4. *Dignity*, vicar of Stanford, parson of Ibstock, prebendary of Westminster, archdeacon of Huntingdon, dean of Gloucester, bishop of St. David's in Wales, Bath and Wells, and London, in England, and finally archbishop of Canterbury. It was said of Dr. George Abbot, his predecessor, that he suddenly started to be a bishop without ever having pastoral charge, whereas this man was a great traveller in all climates of church preferment, sufficient to acquaint him with an experimental knowledge of the conditions of all such persons who at last were subjected to his authority.

Charged unjustly to be a papist.

73. He is generally charged with popish inclinations, and the story is commonly told and believed, of a lady (still alive)[p] who, turning papist, and being demanded of the archbishop the cause of her changing her religion, tartly returned, "My lord, it was "because I ever hated a crowd;" and being desired to explain her meaning herein, "I perceived," said she, "that your lordship and many others are making "for Rome as fast as ye can, and therefore, to pre-

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[p] [The Dowager duchess of Buckingham?]

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" vent a press, I went before you." Be the tale true or false, take papist for a Trent-papist, embracing all the divisions of that council, and surely this archbishop would have been made fuel for the fire before ever of that persuasion. Witness his book against Fisher, wherein he giveth no less account of his sincerity than ability to defend the most dominative points wherein we and the papists dissent[q].

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[q] [The following anecdote related by Dr. Heylin in The Appeal, &c. part iii. p. 62, serves as an additional proof, if proof indeed were needed, of the groundlessness of this charge which some of his opponents have endeavoured to fix upon him. "It was in November, anno 1639," says Heylin, "that I received a message from the lord archbishop to attend him the next day at two of the clock in the afternoon. The key being turned which opened the way into his study, I found him sitting in a chair holding a paper in both hands, and his eyes so fixed upon that paper, that he observed me not at my coming in. Finding him in that posture, I thought it fit and manners to retire again; but the noise I made by my retreat bringing him back unto himself, he recalled me again, and told me, after some short pause, that he well remembered having sent for me, but could not tell for his life what it was about. After which he was pleased to say, not without tears standing in his eyes, that he had newly received a letter acquainting him with a revolt of a person of some quality in North Wales to the church of Rome; that he knew that the increase of popery by such frequent revolts would be imputed unto him and his brethren the bishops, who were all least guilty of the same; that for his part he had done his utmost, so far forth as it might consist with the rules of prudence and the preservation of the church, to suppress that party, and to bring the chief sticklers in it to condign punishment. To the truth whereof, lifting up his wet eyes to heaven, he took God to witness; conjuring me, as I would answer it to God at the day of judgment, that if ever I came to any of those places which he and his brethren, by reason of their great age, were not like to hold long, I would employ all such abilities as God had given me in suppressing that party, who by their open undertakings and secret practices were like to be the ruin of this flourishing church. After some words of mine upon that occasion, I found some argument to divert him from those sad remembrances,

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Yet endeavouring a reconciliation betwixt Rome and England.

74. However most apparent it is by several passages in his life, that he endeavoured to take up many controversies betwixt us and the church of Rome, so to compromise the difference and to bring us to a vicinity, if not contiguity therewith, an impossible design (if granted lawfully), as some every way his equals did adjudge. For composition is impossible with such who will not agree except all they sue for, and all the charges of their suit, be to the utmost farthing awarded unto them. Our reconciliation with Rome is clogged with the same impossibilities; she may be gone to, but will never be met with, such her pride or as peevishness, not to stir a step to obviate any of a different religion. Rome will never so far unpope itself as to part with her pretended supremacy and infallibility, which cuts off all possibility of protestants' treaty with her, if possibly without prejudice to God's glory and the truth, other controversies might be composed; which done, England would have been an island, as well in religion as situation, cut off from the continent of foreign protestant churches, in a singular posture by itself, hard to be imagined, but harder to be effected.

Over severe in his censures.

75. Amongst his human frailties, choler and pas-

" and having brought him to " some reasonable composedness, I took leave for the " present; and some two or " three days after waiting on " him again, he then told me " the reason of his sending for " me the time before. And " this I deliver for a truth on " the faith of a Christian, " which I hope will overbalance " any evidence which hath " been brought to prove such " 'popish inclinations' as he " stands generally charged with " in our author's history."— To this Fuller answers, " I " verily believe all and every " one of these passages to be " true, and therefore may proceed." His recovery of Hales and Chillingworth is familiar to all readers of ecclesiastical history, and needs not to be here detailed.]

sion most discovered itself. In the Star Chamber (where, if the crime not extraordinary, it was fine enough for one to be sued in so chargeable a court) he was observed always to concur with the severest side[r], and to infuse more vinegar than oil into all his censures, and also was much blamed for his

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[r] [This is certainly not true; the proceedings in the Star-chamber, whenever they assumed a character of severity, were attributed to the archbishop, although he was but one ecclesiastic among several laymen, and by no means the most forward in passing a harsh and hasty sentence upon those who were brought before him. There is a pamphlet entitled "An exact copy of a Letter "sent to William Laud, late "Archbishop of Canterbury, "now Prisoner in the Tower, "Nov. 5, 1641; at which his "lordship taking exceptions, "the author visited him in his "own person, and having admittance to him had some "private discourse with him "concerning the cruelty in "which he formerly reigned "in his power; the substance "whereof is truly composed "by the author himself, &c." 4to. 1641. In this pamphlet, the writer, who was no friend to the archbishop, thus addresses him: "My lord," quoth he, "I have been both an eye "and an ear-witness at the "high commission court, when "men truly fearing God[a] have "been called to the bar, and "your lordship hath commanded to give them the "oath, which when they have "refused you have committed "them to prison." "No," quoth my lord; "it is well "known I have shewn great "favour and clemency to those "obstinate men, in that I have "sometime forborne them a "twelvemonth together, and "have in the meantime referred them to godly and learned doctors and ministers for "satisfaction in that point; "and when they out of wilfulness and obstinacy would "not be satisfied, I could "do no less by the order "of the court than commit "them to prison." The justice and correctness of this statement, the writer of the pamphlet, and the archbishop's accuser, does not deny. And again, the author of the pamphlet called "The True Cha-"racter of an Untrue Bi-"shop," says, "He observeth the scripture in the spirit "of it, useth his greatest adversaries with most meekness; I mean of the separation of the nonconformists; "concluding that diversity of "opinion will beget their ruin "and establish him in his station." p. 5.]

[a] That is, the Puritans, the name they arrogated to themselves.

severity to his predecessor, easing him, against his will and before his time, of his jurisdiction [a].

Over meddling in state matters.

76. But he is most accused for over meddling in state matters; more than was fitting, say many; than needful, say most, for one of his profession. But he never more overshot himself than when he did impose the Scotch Liturgy, and was *ἀλλοτριοαρχιεπισκοπὸς* over a free and foreign church and nation. At home many grumbled at him for oft making the shallowest pretence of the crown deep enough (by his powerful digging therein) to drown the undoubted right of any private patron to a church living. But courtiers most complained that he persecuted them, not in their proper places, but what in an ordinary way he should have taken from the hands of inferior officers, that he with a long and strong arm reached to himself over all their heads. Yet others plead for him that he abridged their bribes, not fees, and it vexed them that he struck their fingers with the dead palsy, so that they could not, as formerly, have a feeling for church preferments.

Conscientious in keeping a diary.

77. He was conscientious according to the principles of his devotion; witness his care in keeping a constant diary of the passages in his life. Now he can hardly be an ill husband who casteth up his receipts and expenses every night; and such a soul is, or would be good, which enters into a daily scrutiny of its own actions. But such who commend him in making, condemn him in keeping such a diary about him in so dangerous days: especially he ought to untongue it from talking to his preju-

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[a] [Both these statements may be disproved by the clearest evidence.]

dice, and should have garbled some light, trivial, and joculary passages out of the same; whereas, sure the omission hereof argued not his carelessness but confidence, that such his privacies should meet with that favour of course which in equity is due to writings of that nature.

Temperate and chaste.

78. He was temperate in his diet, and (which may be presumed the effect thereof) chaste in his conversation; indeed, in his diary, he confessed himself lapsed into some special sin with E. B. for which he kept an anniversary humiliation. Indeed, his adversary[t] makes this note thereon, "perchance he "was unclean with E. B.," which is but an uncharitable suspicion[u]. Now an exact diary is a window in his heart who maketh it, and therefore pity it is any should look therein, but either the friends of the party, or such ingenuous foes as will not (especially in things doubtful) make conjectural comments to his disgrace. But be E. B. male or female, and the sin committed, of what kind soever, his fault whispers not so much to his shame as his solemn repentance sounds to his commendation.

An enemy to gallantry in clergymen's clothes.

79. He was very plain in apparel, and sharply checked such clergymen whom he saw go in rich or gaudy clothes, commonly calling them of the church triumphant. Thus, as cardinal Wolsey is reported the first prelate who made silks and satins fashionable amongst clergymen, so this archbishop first retrenched the usual wearing thereof. Once at a visitation

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[t] Mr. Prynne in the breviate of the archbishop's life, p. 30.

[u] [Not only a most uncharitable but execrable falsehood, as Prynne might have known by reference to other parts of the diary. See Laud's Diary, p. 12, May 28, and elsewhere. Our author had shewn himself much wiser had he omitted the record of such diabolical malevolence.]

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in Essex, one in orders (of good estate and extraction) appeared before him very gallant in habit, whom Dr. Laud (then bishop of London) publicly reproved, shewing to him the plainness of his own apparel: "My lord," said the minister, "you have "better clothes at home, and I have worse;" whereat the bishop rested very well contented[x].

Not partial to his kindred.

80. He was not partial in preferring his kindred, except some merit met in them with his alliance. I knew a near kinsman of his in the university, scholar enough, but somewhat wild and lazy, on whom it was late before he reflected with favour, and that not before his amendment. And generally persons promoted by him were men of learning and abilities, though many of them Arminians in their judgments, and I believe they will not be offended with my reporting it, seeing most of them will endeavour to justify and avouch their opinions herein.

No whit addicted to covetousness.

81. Covetousness he perfectly hated; being a single man, and having no project to raise a name or family, he was the better enabled for public performances, having both a price in his hand, and an heart also to dispose thereof for the general good. St. John's in Oxford, wherein he was bred, was so beautified, enlarged, and enriched by him, that

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[x] [Laud's plainness of apparel exposed him to the railing of the Puritans: thus one of that class says of him: "He "is half a precisian in the out-"ward man: he loveth little "bands, short hair, grave looks; "but had rather be slain at "Tyburn than preach in a "cloak, (the badge of the Puri-"tans, see §. 3, above,) though "Paul sent for his on some "such occasion from Troas." "True Character of an Untrue "Bishop." Lond. 1641, p. 6. Though often on other occasions they brought the very opposite charge against the bishops: but *wisdom is justified of her children.*]

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strangers at the first sight knew it not, yea, it scarce knoweth itself, so altered to the better from its former condition; insomuch that almost it deserveth the name of Canterbury College, as well as that which Simon Islip founded, and since hath lost its name, united to Christ Church. More buildings he intended, (had not the stroke of one axe hindered the working of many hammers,) chiefly on churches, whereof the following passage may not impertinently be inserted.

The grand causer of the repairing of churches.

82. It happened that a visitation was kept at St. Peter's in Cornhill, for the clergy of London. The preacher discoursing of the painfulness of the ministerial function, proved it from the Greek deduction of διάκονος, or *deacon*, so called from κόνις, *dust*, because he must *laborare in arena in pulvere*, "work in the dust," do hard service in hot weather. Sermon ended, bishop Laud proceeded to his charge to the clergy, and observing the church ill repaired without, and slovenly kept within, "I "am sorry," said he, "to meet here with so true an "etymology of *diaconus*, for here is both dust and "dirt too for a deacon (or priest either) to work in; "yea, it is dust of the worst kind, caused from the "ruins of this ancient house of God, so that it "pitieth His servants to see her in the dust[y]." Hence he took occasion to press the repairing of that and other decayed places of divine worship, so that from this day we may date the general mending, beautifying, and adorning of all English churches; some to decency, some to magnificence, and some (if all complaints were true) to superstition.

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[y] Psalm cii. 14.

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Principally of S. Paul's.

83. But the church of St. Paul's (the only cathedral in Christendom dedicated to that apostle) was the masterpiece of his performances. We know what one[x] satirically said of him, "that he plucked "down Puritans and property to build up Paul's "and prerogative." But let unpartial judges behold how he left and remember how he found that ruinous fabric, and they must conclude that (though intending more) he effected much in that great design. He communicated his project to some private persons, of taking down the great tower in the middle to the spurs, and rebuild it in the same fashion (but some yards higher) as before. He meant to hang as great and tuneable a ring of bells as any in the world, whose sound, advantaged with their height and vicinity of the Thames, must needs be loud and melodious. But now he is turned to his dust, and all his thoughts have perished; yea, that church, formerly approached with due reverence, is now entered with just fear of falling on those under it, and is so far from having its old decays repaired, that it is daily decayed in its new reparations.

His personal character.

84. He was low of stature, little in bulk, cheerful in countenance, (wherein gravity and quickness were well compounded,) of a sharp and piercing eye, clear judgment, and (abating the influence of age) firm memory. He wore his hair very close, and though in the beginning of his greatness many measured the length of men's strictness by the shortness of their hair, yet some will say, that since, out of antipathy to conform to his example, his opposites have therein indulged more liberty to themselves.

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[x] Lord F. [Fiennes?]

And thus we take our leave of him, whose estate (neither so great as to be envied at, nor so small as to be complained of,) he left to his heir and sister's son, Mr. John Robinson, merchant, of London, though fain first to compound with the parliament before he could peaceably enjoy the same[a].

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The birth and breeding of Mr. Dod.

85. The same year with this archbishop died another divine, (though of a different judgment,) no less esteemed amongst men of his own persuasion, viz. Mr. John Dod, who (in the midst of troublous times) quietly withdrew himself to heaven. He was born at Shotledge in Cheshire, the youngest of

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[a] [See the last will and testament of the archbishop, in Wharton's History &c. p. 457. To this person Heylin dedicated his Life of Archbishop Laud; but there he is styled sir John Robinson, knt. and bart., lieutenant of the Tower of London. Laud's relationship, which was only by half blood, with the Robinsons, will be more clearly seen in Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 46.

The archbishop's personal appearance is thus described by Dr. Heylin, who knew him well. "Of stature he was low, but "of strong composition: so "short a trunk never contained "so much excellent treasure; "which therefore was to be "the stronger by reason of the "wealth which was hid within "it. His countenance, cheer-"ful and well bloodied, more "fleshy, as I have often heard "him say, than any other part "of his body; which cheer-"fulness and vivacity he car-"ried with him to the very "block, notwithstanding the "afflictions of four years' im-"prisonment and the infelicity "of the times. For at his first "commitment he besought God "(as is observed in the Bre-"viate) to give him full pa-"tience, proportionable com-"fort, and contentment with "whatsoever he should send; "and he was heard in what he "prayed for: for notwithstand-"ing that he had fed long on "the bread of carefulness, and "drank the water of afflic-"tion, yet, as the scripture "telleth us of the four Hebrew "children, his countenance ap-"peared fairer and fatter in "flesh than any of those who "eat their portion of the king's "meat and drank of his wine. "A gallant spirit being for the "most part like the sun, which "shews the greater at his set-"ting." p. 542. The archbishop's face, it was remarked at his execution, was so ruddy as to give rise to a suspicion of his having painted it.]

A.D. 1645. 21 Chas. I. seventeen children; bred in Jesus College in Cambridge. At a disputation at one commencement he was so facetiously solid, (wild, yet sweet fruits, which the stock brought forth before grafted with grace,) that Oxford men, there present, courted him home with them, and would have planted him in their university, save that he declined it.

One peaceable in our Israel. 86. He was a passive Nonconformist, not loving any one the worse for difference in judgment about ceremonies, but all the better for their unity of affections in grace and goodness. He used to retrench some hot spirits when inveighing against bishops, telling them how God under that government had given a marvellous increase to the gospel, and that godly men might comfortably comport therewith, under which learning and religion had so manifest an improvement: he was a good decalogist, and is conceived to his dying day (how roughly soever used by the opposite party) to stick to his own judgment of what he had written on the fifth commandment, of obedience to lawful authority.

Improveth all to piety. 87. Some riotous gentlemen casually coming to the table of sir Antony Cope in Hanwell, were half starved in the midst of a feast, because refraining from swearing (meat and drink to them) in the presence of Mr. Dod; of these one after dinner ingeniously professed, that he thought it had been impossible for himself to forbear oaths so long a time; hereat Mr. Dod (the flame of whose zeal turned all accidents into fuel) fell into a pertinent and seasonable discourse, (as more better at occasionals,) of what power men have more than they know of themselves to refrain from sin, and how active God's restraining grace would be in us to bridle us from wickedness, were we not wanting in ourselves.

Youth will away.

88. Being stricken in years, he used to compare himself to Samson when his hair was cut off. "I "rise," saith he, "in a morning, as Samson did, "and think, *I will go out as at other times*[b], go, "watch, walk, work, study, ride, as when a young "man; but alas! he quickly found an alteration, "and so do I, who must stoop to age, which hath "clipt my hair and taken my strength away."

God seen at the first hand in nature, but at the second in art.

89. Being at Holdenby, and invited by an honourable person to see that stately house built by sir Christopher Hatton, (the masterpiece of English architecture in that age,) he desired to be excused, and to sit still looking on a flower which he had in his hand. "In this flower," saith he, "I can see "more of God than in all the beautiful buildings in "the world." And at this day, as his flower is long since withered, that magnificent pile, that fair flower of art, is altogether blasted and destroyed.

An innocent deceiver.

90. It is reported he was but coarsely used of the cavaliers, who they say plundered him of his linen[c] and household stuff, though as some tell me, if so disposed, he might have redeemed all for a very small matter. However, the good man still remembered his old maxim, "sanctified afflictions "are good promotions;" and I have been credibly informed, that when the soldiers brought down his sheets out of the chamber into the room where Mr. Dod sat by the fire-side, he (in their absence to search after more) took one pair and clapt them under his cushion whereon he sat, much pleasing himself, after their departure, that he had, as he said, "plun-

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[b] Judges xvi. 20.

[c] In a list written by Mr. Clark.

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Excellent Hebrician. 91. He was an excellent scholar, and was as causelessly accused, as another John of his name, (Mr. John Fox I mean,) for lacking of Latin. He was also an exquisite Hebrician, and with his society and directions in one vacation taught that tongue unto Mr. John Gregory, that rare linguist, and chaplain of Christ Church, who survived him but one year[d], and now they both together praise God in that language which glorified saints and angels use in heaven[e].

Farewell old Puritan. 92. He was buried at Fauseley, in Northamptonshire, with whom the old Puritan may seem to expire, and in his grave to be interred. Humble, meek, patient, hospitable, charitable as in his censures of, so in his alms to others. Would I could truly say but half so much of the next generation!

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[d] Dying at Kidlington, Mar. 13, 1646, and was buried in Christ Church, Oxford. [See Wood's Athen. ii. p. 100.]

[e] [See a Life of him in Clark's "Lives of Thirty-two "Eminent Divines," p. 168, and in "Lloyd's Memoirs," p. 129. The puritan leaven of the former caused him to suppress, on this as on other occasions, passages which he thought unfavourable to the Nonconformists.]

SECT. X.

TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL

ROGER PRICE, Esq.

HIGH SHERIFF OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE[a].

Seamen observe that the water is the more troubled the nearer they draw on to the land, because broken by repercussion from the shore. I am sensible of the same danger the nearer I approach our times and the end of this history.

Yet fear not, Sir, that the least wrong may redound to you by my indiscretion in the writing hereof, desiring you only to patronise what is acceptable therein, and what shall appear otherwise is left on my account to answer for the same.

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The Directory drawn up by the Assembly.

YOU may know, that amongst the most remarkables effected by the Assembly of divines, the compiling of the Directory was one, which although composed in the former year, yet because not as yet meeting with universal obedience, it will be seasonable enough now to enter on the consideration thereof. The parliament, intending to abolish the liturgy, and loath to leave the land altogether at a loss, or deformity in public service, employed the

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[a] [Arms. Three Cornish choughs sable, beaked and legged, gules. He purchased the manor of Westbury, Buckinghamshire, of the Lyttletons in 1650.—Lyson's Bucks, p. 660, and was succeeded in it by his son of the same name.]

Assembly in drawing up a model of divine worship[b]. Herein no direct form of prayer *verbis conceptis* was prescribed, no outward or bodily worship enjoined, nor people required in the responsals (more than in Amen) to bear a part in the service, but all was left to the discretion of the minister, not enjoined what, but directed to what purpose he ought to order his devotions, in public prayer and administering sacraments.

To which the dissenting brethren at last assent.

2. The dissenting brethren (commonly called independents) were hardly persuaded to consent to a Directory. Even *libera custodia*, though it be the best of restraints, is but a restraint; and they suspected such a Directory would, if enforced, be an infringing of the Christian liberty; however, they consented at last, the rather because a preface was prefixed before it, which did much moderate the matter, and mitigate the rigorous imposition thereof.

A discreet and charitable preface.

3. In this preface respectful terms are, no less discreetly than charitably, afforded to the first compilers of the Liturgy, allowing them wise and pious in redressing many things which were vain, erroneous, superstitious, and idolatrous; affirming also, that many godly and learned men of that age re-

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[b] [All public use of the Liturgy seems to have been abandoned some time before the Directory was drawn up. For in a letter dated Feb. 18, 1644, Baillie informs his correspondent, "that they had so contrived it with my lord Wharton, that the lords that day did petition the Assembly that they might have one of the divines to attend their house for a week, as it came about, to pray to God with them. Some days thereafter the lower house petitioned for the same. Both their desires were gladly granted; for by this means the relics of the service-book, which till then was every day used in both houses, are at last banished. Paul's and Westminster are purged of their images, organs, and all which gave offence." Lett. 43.]

joiced much in the Liturgy at that time set forth; but adding withal, that they would rejoice more had it been their happiness to behold this present reformation; they themselves were persuaded that these first reformers, were they now alive, would join with them in this work of advancing the Directory.

The Directory enforced by ordinance of parliament.

4. The Assembly-work of the Directory thus ended, the lords and commons began therewith prefixing an ordinance thereunto, made much up of forms of repeal, laying down the motives inclining them to think the abolishing of the Common Prayer and establishment of this Directory necessary for this nation. First, the consideration of the many inconveniences risen by that book in this kingdom. Secondly, their covenant resolution to reform religion according to God's word and the best reformed churches. Thirdly, their consulting with the learned, pious, and reverend divines for that purpose.

A good price if well paid.

5. The benefit of printing the Directory was bestowed on Mr. Rowborough and Mr. Byfield, scribes to the Assembly, who are said to have sold the same for some hundreds of pounds. Surely the stationer who bought it did not, with the dishonest chapman, first decry the worth thereof and then boast of his pennyworth[c]. If since he hath proved a loser thereby, I am confident that they who sold it him carried such a chancery in their bosoms as to make him fair satisfaction.

A second ordinance to back the former.

6. Now because it was hard to turn people out of their old track, and put them from a beaten path, (such was, call it constancy or obstinacy, love or doting, of the generality of the nation on the Common Prayer,) the parliament found it fit, yea, neces-

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[c] Proverbs xx. 14.

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sary, to back their former ordinance with a second, dated twenty-third of August, 1645, and entitled, "An ordinance of the lords and commons for the "more effectual putting in execution the Directory, "&c.," wherein directions were not only given for the dispersing and publishing of the "Directory in all "parishes, chapelries, and donatives, but also for the "calling in and suppressing of all books of Common "Prayer, and several forfeitures and penalties to be "levied and imposed upon conviction before justices "of assize, or of oyer and terminer, &c."

The king's proclamation contrary to the parliament's ordinance.

7. But in opposition hereunto, the king at Oxford set forth a proclamation, bearing date the thirteenth of November, 1645, enjoining the use of "Common "Prayer according to law, notwithstanding the pretended ordinances for the new Directory." Thus as the waves, commanded one way by the tide and countermanded another with the wind, know not which to obey; so people stood amused betwixt these two forms of service, *line upon line, precept upon precept*[d], being the easiest way to edify; whilst line against line, precept against precept, did much disturb and distract.

Arguments *pro* and *con* to the Directory.

8. The king and parliament being thus at difference, no wonder if the pens of the chaplains followed their patrons, and engaged violently *pro* and *con* in the controversy. I presume it will be lawful and safe for me to give in a breviate of the arguments on both sides, reserving my private opinion to myself, as not worthy the reader's taking notice thereof; for as it hath been permitted in the height and heat of our civil war for trumpeters and messengers to have fair and free passage on both sides,

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[d] Isaiah xxviii. 10.

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pleading the privilege of the public faith, provided they do not interest themselves like parties, and as spies forfeit the protection, so subjecting themselves justly to the severest punishment: so historians in like manner in all ages have been permitted to transmit to posterity an unpartial account of actions, preserving themselves neuters in their indifferent relations.

Against the Liturgy.	*For the Liturgy.*
1. Sad experience hath made it manifest that the Liturgy used in England (notwithstanding the religious intentions of the compilers thereof) hath proved an offence to many godly people.	1. Such offence (if any) was taken, not given, and they must be irreligious mistakes which stand in opposition to such religious intentions.
2. Offence thereby hath also been given to the reformed churches abroad.	2. No foreign church ever in print expressed any such offence, and if some particular man have disliked it, as many and as eminent have manifested their approbation thereof.
3. Mr. Calvin himself disliked the Liturgy in his letter to the lord protector, charitably calling many things therein *tolerabiles ineptias.*	3. Mr. Calvin is but one man: besides, he spake against the first draught of the Liturgy, anno 1. of king Edward the Sixth, which afterwards was reviewed in that king's reign, and again in the first of queen Elizabeth.
4. The Liturgy is no better than confining of the Spirit, tying it to such and such	4. The same charge lieth against the Directory, appointing though not the words

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words, which is to be left alone to its own liberty; use praying and have praying; the extemporary gift is improved by the practice thereof.	to be prayed with, the matter to be prayed for. Poor liberty to leave the Spirit only to supply the place of a vocabulary or a *copia verborum*. And seeing sense is more considerable than language, she prescribing thereof restraineth the Spirit as much as appointing the words of a prayer.
5. It being a compliant with the papists, in a great part of their service, doth not a little confirm them in their superstition and idolatry.	5. It complieth with the papists in what they have retained of antiquity, and not what they have superadded of idolatry, and therefore more probably may be a means of converting them to our religion, when they perceive us not possessed with a spirit of opposition unto them in such things wherein they close with the primitive times.
6. It is found by experience that the Liturgy hath been a great means to make an idle and an unedifying ministry.	6. The users of the Liturgy have also laboured in preaching, catechising, and study of divine learning. Nor doth the Directory secure any from laziness, seeing nothing but lungs and sides may be used in the delivery of any extempore prayer.
7. It is tedious to the people, with the unnecessary length taking up an hour at least in the large and distinct reading thereof.	7. Some observers of the Directory, to procure to their parts and persons the repute of ability and piety, have spent as much time in their extemporary devotions.

8. Many ceremonies, not only unprofitable but burthensome, are therein imposed on people's consciences.	8. This is disproved by such who have written volumes in the vindication thereof. But grant it true, not a total absolution, but a reformation thereof may hence be inferred.
9. Divers able and faithful ministers have, by the means of the Liturgy, been debarred the exercise of their ministry, and spoiled of their livelihood, to the undoing of them and their family.	9. The Directory, if enforced to subject the refusers to penalties, may spoil as many and as well-deserving of their ministry and livelihood.

Such as desire to read deeper in this controversy may have their recourse to the manifold tractates written on this subject.

A query for conscience sake.

9. But leaving these disquiets the Common Prayer daily decreased, and Directory by the power of parliament was advanced. Here some would fain be satisfied, whether the abolishing of the main body of the Common Prayer extendeth to the prohibition of every expression therein, (I mean not such which are the numerical words of scripture, whereof no question,) but other ancient passages, which in the primitive times were laudably (not to say necessarily) put in practice.

A word in due season.

10. I know a minister who was accused for using the *gloria Patri*, (conforming his practice to the Directory in all things else,) and threatened to be brought before the committee. He pleaded the words of Mr. Cartwright in his defence[e], confessing the *gloria Patri* founded on just cause, that men

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[e] His Reply against Whitgift, p. 107, sect. iv.

might make their open profession in the church of the divinity of the Son of God, against the detestable opinion of Arius and his disciples. "But now," saith he, "that it hath pleased the Lord to quench that fire, there is no such cause why those things should be used." "But seeing" (said the minister) "it hath pleased God for our sins to condemn us to live in so licentious an age, wherein the divinity both of Christ and the Holy Ghost is called frequently and publicly into question, the same now (by Mr. Cartwright's judgment) may lawfully be used, not to say can[not] well be omitted." I remember not that he heard any more of the matter.

A farewell to the subject. 11. It is now high time to take our farewell of this tedious subject, and leave the issue thereof to the observation of posterity. The best demonstration to prove whether Daniel and his fellows (the children of the captivity) should thrive better by plain pulse, (to which formerly they had been used,) or the new diet of diverse and dainty dishes, was even to put it to the trial of some days[f] experiment, and then a survey taken of their complexions whether they be impaired or not; so when the Directory hath been practised in England ninety years, (the world lasting so long,) as the Liturgy hath been, then posterity will be the competent judge, whether the face of religion had the more lively healthful and cheerful looks under the one or under the other.

Archbishop Williams strangely altered. 12. The next news engrossing the talk of all tongues was about Dr. Williams, archbishop of York, no less suddenly than strangely metamorphosed from a zealous royalist into an active parliamentarian: being to relate the occasion thereof, we will enter on the brief history of his life, from the cradle to the grave, repeating nothing formerly written, but only adding thereunto.

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[f] Dan. i. 13.

Born in Wales of good parentage.

13. None can question the gentility of his extraction, finding him born at Aberconway, in Carnarvonshire, in Wales, of a family rather ancient than rich. His grandfather had a good estate, but aliened, it seems, by his heirs, so that this doctor, when lord keeper, was fain to repurchase it. Surely it was of a considerable value, because he complaineth in his letters[g] to the duke, (who encouraged him to the purchase,) that he was forced to borrow money, and stood indebted for the same.

Bred in St. John's, and proctor of Cambridge.

14. He was bred in St. John's college, in Cambridge, to hold the scales even with St. John's in Oxford, wherein archbishop Laud had his education; Dr. Gwin was his tutor, his chiefest, if not his only, eminency, and afterwards the occasion of his preferment[h]; for as his tutor made his pupil fellow, this pupil made the tutor master of the college. Next was Mr. Williams made proctor of the university, excellently performing his acts for the place in so stately a posture, as rather but of duty, thereby to honour his mother university than desire to credit himself, as taking it only in his passage to an higher employment.

15. He was chaplain (or counsellor shall I say) to

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[g] Cabala, p. 267.

[h] [Dr. Gwin was of the same country as Williams; his competitors for the headship were Morton, afterwards bishop of Durham, an able writer against the Romanists; Merriton, and Valentine Carey; the following ridiculous hexameters were composed on this occasion—

Twice two brave worthies of St. John's stood to be masters;
Morton came with a pen and Merriton he with his action;
Val. Carey came with a cringe, but Gwin hur came with faction.

Heylin's Advertisements of the Reign of K. James, p. 23.]

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The lord Egerton his boon to this his chaplain. Thomas Egerton, lord chancellor, who imparted many mysteries of that place unto him. Here an able teacher of state met with as apt a scholar, the one not more free in pouring forth, than the other capable to receive, firm to retain, and active to improve what was infused into him. So dear was this doctor to his patron, that this lord dying, on his death-bed desired him to choose what most acceptable legacy he should bequeath unto him; Dr. Williams, waving and slighting all money, requested four books, being the collections of the lord his industry, learning, and experience, concerning 1. The Prerogative Royal. 2. Privileges of Parliament. 3. The Proceedings in Chancery. 4. The Power of the Star-chamber. These were no sooner asked than granted; and the doctor afterwards copied out these four books into his own brains; books which were the four elements of our English state, and he made an absolute master of all the materials, that is, of all the passages therein, seeing nothing superfluous was therein recorded.

The means of his speedy and great preferment. 16. By the duke of Buckingham (whom he had married to the daughter of the earl of Rutland) he presented these books to king James. Then did his majesty first take notice of his extraordinary abilities, soon after preferring him, by the duke's mediation, to the deanery of Westminster, bishop of Lincoln, and keeper's place of the great seal, till he lost the last in the first of king Charles, as hath formerly been related.

The original breach betwixt the duke and lord keeper. 17. I dare confidently avouch what I knowingly speak, that the following passage was the *motus primo primus* of the breach betwixt him and the duke. There was one Dr. Theodore Price, a Welch-man, highly beloved both by bishop Williams and bishop Laud, so that therein the rule did not hold, those that agree in one third agree among themselves; these two prelates mutually mortal enemies meeting in the love of this doctor. Now the archbishopric of Armagh in Ireland falling vacant, bishop Williams moved the duke for Dr. Price his countryman; to whom the duke answered, that king James had by promise foredisposed the place on the bishop of Meath, Dr. James Usher, one whose deserts were sufficiently known. Not satisfied herewith, bishop Williams by his own interest endeavoured to bring Dr. Price into the place. The duke understanding that he, who formerly professed a subordination to, at the least a concurrence with, his desires, should now offer to contest with him, resolved, that seeing the lord keeper would not own himself to stand by his love, the world should see he should fall by his anger; and this ministered the first occasion to his ruin. And when once the alarum was sounded of the duke's displeasure, no courtiers so deaf and drowsy but did take the same; and all things concurred to his disadvantage. This is that Dr. Theodore Price who afterwards died a professed catholic, reconciled to the church of Rome[i].

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[i] [Upon this passage bishop Hacket makes the following observations. After alluding to the exertions of bishop Williams in getting some worthy person promoted to the deanery of York, and his opposition to the duke of Buckingham, who would have thrust in Dr. Scot, he observes: "certainly with "others this might work to his "esteem but nothing to his "prejudice. And I dare con- "fidently avouch, what I know- "ingly speak, (that I may use "the words of my industrious "friend, Mr. T. F., in his "Church History,) that the "solicitation for Dr. Theo- "dore Price, about two months "after, was not the first mo- "tive of a breach between "the keeper and the duke, "(the daylight clears that with-

Not contented with his own wish.

18. Yet after his resigning the seal, fair preferment was left unto him, could he have confined his

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"out dusky conjectures,) no, "nor any process to more unkindness than was before, "which was indeed grown too "high. The case is quickly "unfolded. Dr. Price was "countryman, kinsman, and "great acquaintance of the "lord keeper's; by whose pro-"curement he was sent a com-"missioner into Ireland, two "years before, with Mr. jus-"tice Jones, sir T. Crew, sir "James Perrot, and others, to "rectify grievances in church "and civil state that were com-"plained of. In executing "which commission he came "off with praise and with en-"couragement from his ma-"jesty, that he should not fail "of recompense for his well-"doing. Much about the time "that the prince returned out "of Spain the bishopric of "Asaph fell void; the county "of Merioneth, where Dr. "Price was born, being in the "diocese, the lord keeper at-"tempted to get that bishopric "for Dr. Price; but the prince, "since the time that by his pa-"tent he was styled prince of "Wales, had claimed the bi-"shoprics of that principality "for his own chaplains; so "Dr. Melbourne and Dr. Carle-"ton were preferred to St. "David's and Landaff, and "Asaph was now conferred "upon Dr. Hanmer, his high-"ness' chaplain, that well de-"served it. A little before "K. James' death, Dr. Hamp-"ton, primate of Armagh, as "stout a prelate and as good a "governor as the see had ever "enjoyed, died in a good old "age; whereupon the keeper "interposed for Dr. Price to "succeed him. But the emi-"nent learning of Dr. Usher "(for who could match him, all "in all, in Europe?) carried it "from his rival. Dr. Price was "very rational, and a divine "among those of the first rate, "according to the small skill "of my perceivance; and his "hearers did testify as much "that were present at his Latin "sermon and his lectures *pro* "*gradu* in Oxford. But be-"cause he had never preached "so much as one sermon be-"fore the king, and had left to "do his calling in the pulpit "for many years, it would not "be admitted that he should "ascend to the primacy of "Armagh; no, nor so much "as succeed Dr. Usher in the "bishopric of Meath. To "which objection his kinsman "that stickled for his prefer-"ment could give no good an-"swer; and drew off with so "much ease upon it, that the "reverend Dr. Usher had no "cause to regret at the lord "keeper for an adversary; "neither did Dr. Price ever "shew him love after that day; "and the church of England "then or sooner lost the doc-"tor's heart."—Life of Williams, p. 207.

As for Dr. Price's change to popery, this seems to be denied both by Heylin and Wood.

large heart thereunto. I meet with a passage in a letter[k] from this lord keeper to the duke, wherein he professeth, calling God to witness, that the lord keeper (troubled with many miseries wherewith sudden greatness is accompanied) envied the fortunes of one Dr. Williams, late dean of Westminster: be this a truth or a compliment, what he formerly envied now he enjoyed, returned to a plentiful privacy, not only of the deanery of Westminster, but bishopric of Lincoln, which he held with the same. But alas, when our desires are forced on us by our foes, they do not delight but afflict. The same step is not the same step when we take it *ascendendo* in hopes to higher preferment, and when we light upon it *descendendo*, or are remitted unto it as falling from higher advancement. The bishop is impatient for being less than he had been, and there wanted not those secret enemies to improve his discontents to his disgrace, almost destruction, as fining in the Star-chamber, and long imprisoning in the Tower.

Enlarged out of the Tower and made archbishop of York.

19. Now came that parliament so much wished for, that many feared it would never begin, and afterwards (oh the mutability of desires, or change of things desired,) the same feared it would never have an end. Then is bishop Williams sent for out of the Tower, brought to parliament, advanced to

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The former accuses Williams of being the author of this report, which, according to him, had no other foundation than Williams' hostility to Price, their former friendship having been converted into mutual dislike. See Exam. Hist. p. 74. In this he is followed by Wood. See Fast. i. p. 198. Prynne also accuses Price of being a papist, and asserts that at his death he received extreme unction from a popish priest. Trial of Laud, p. 355.]

[k] Cabala, or Scrinia Sacra, part i. p. 59. [260. ed. 1691.]

the archbishopric of York, and is the *antesignanus* of the episcopal party, to defend it in the house of lords (as best armed with his power and experience) against a volley of affronts and oppositions.

His pleasant answer to the king.

20. Once when his majesty saw him earnest in the defence of episcopacy then opposed by parliament; "My lord," saith the king, "I commend you "that you are no whit daunted with all disasters, "but are zealous in defending your order." "Please "it your majesty," returned the archbishop, "I am "a true Welshman; and they are observed never "to run away till their general do first forsake them; "no fear of my flinching, whilst your highness doth "countenance our cause." But soon after he was imprisoned about the bishops' protestation to the parliament, and with great difficulty obtained his liberty, as was afore observed.

Retires into North Wales, and sinks by degrees into disfavour.

21. Retiring himself into North Wales, (where his birth, estate, alliance, but chiefly hospitality, did make him popular,) he had a great, but endeavoured a greater, influence on those parts. It gave some distaste, that in all consultations he would have his advice pass for an oracle, not to be contested with, much less controlled by any. But vast the difference betwixt his orders in chancery, armed with power to enforce obedience, and his counsel here, which many military men (as in their own element) took the boldness to contradict: buff-coats often rubbed and grated against this prelate's silk cassock, which, because of the softer nature, was the sooner fretted therewith[1]. Indeed, he endeavoured as much

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[1] [His advice, however, though unpalatable, was far sounder than any given by the buff-coats who jostled against him. He seems to have been the only person who thoroughly

as might be to preserve his country from taxes, (an acceptable and ingratiating design with the people,) but sometimes inconsistent with the king's present and pressing necessities. All his words and deeds are represented at Oxford (where his court interest did daily decline) to his disadvantage, and some jealousies are raised of his cordialness to the royal cause.

Incensed with great affronts.

22. At last some great affronts were put upon him, (increased with his tender resenting of them,) being himself, as I have been informed, put out of commission, and another placed in his room; a disgrace so much the more insupportable to his high spirit, because he conceived himself much meriting of his majesty, by his loyalty, industry, ability, and expense in his cause, who hitherto had spared neither care nor cost in advancing the same, even to the impairing of his own estate.

Takes a commission from the parliament.

23. But now he entereth on a design, which, had I line and plummet, I want skill to manage them in measuring the depth thereof. He sueth to the parliament for favour, and obtained it, whose general in a manner he becomes in laying siege to the town

understood the real temper of the times; as thoroughly understanding the weakness and vacillation of the king's counsel, the excessive selfishness and dishonesty of the courtiers, as he perceived the true strength and power of the enemy. To the time of his disgrace he was the only sound adviser, almost the only sincere one, which the king possessed. But if he had one fault greater than another it consisted in this, that he was too much of a politician; more fitted for the council-table than for the bishop's chair; and this alone was sufficient to prejudice him with the king. Some few of his letters are preserved in Carte's collection of original papers, the best in the whole volume, and as far distinguished by sound good sense and discretion from the mass of correspondence with which they are surrounded, of nobles and cavaliers, as the experience of manhood surpasses the levity of childhood.]

A.D. 1645. 21 Chas. I. and castle of Aberconway, till he had reduced it to their service, and much of the town to his own possession.

Condemned by all royalists. 24. And now *Meruit sub parliamento in Wallia* is the wonder of all men[m]. I confess he told his kinsman, who related it to me, that if he might have the convenience to speak with his majesty but one half hour, (a small time for so great a task,) he doubted not but to give him full satisfaction for his behaviour. Sure it is, those of the royal party, and his own order, which could not mine into his invisible motives, but surveyed only the sad surface of his actions, condemn the same as irreconcilable with the principles he professed. And though hereby he escaped a composition for his estate in Goldsmiths' Hall, yet his memory is still to compound (and at what rate I know not) with many mouths, before a good word can be afforded unto it; but these, perchance, have never read the well Latined apology in his behalf. And although some will say that they that need an apology come too near to fault, the word, as commonly taken, sounding more of excuse than defence, yet surely in its genuine notation, it speaks not guilt but always greatness of enemies and opposers.

Human inconstancy. 25. Of all English divines since the reformation, he might make the most experimental sermon on the Apostle's words, *by honour and dishonour, by ill report and good report,* though the method not so appliable as the matter unto him, who did not close and conclude with the general good esteem, losing by his last compliance his old friends at Oxford, and in lieu of them finding few new ones at London.

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[m] [Yet Hacket has, I think, Life of Williams, ii. p. 218.] cleared him of this imputation.

His acts of charity.

26. Envy itself cannot deny but that whithersoever he went he might be traced by the footsteps of his benefaction. Much he expended on the repair of Westminster abbey church, and his answer is generally known, when pressed by bishop Laud to a larger contribution to St. Paul's, "that he would not "rob Peter to pay Paul." The library of Westminster was the effect of his bounty, and so was a chapel in Lincoln College in Oxford, having no relation thereunto, than as the namesake[n] of his bishopric; so small an invitation will serve to call a coming charity. At St. John's, in Cambridge, he founded two fellowships, built a fair library, and furnished it with books, intending more, had his bounty then met with proportionable entertainment. But benefactors may give money, but not grateful minds to such as receive it.

Purged from unjust aspersion.

27. He was very chaste in his conversation, whatsoever a nameless author hath written on the contrary; whom his confuter hath styled *aulicus e coquinaria*, or, "the courtier out of the kitchen," and that deservedly for his unworthy writings, out of what drippingpan soever he licked this his sluttish intelligence. For most true it is, (as I am certainly informed from such who knew the privacies and casualties of his infancy,) this archbishop was but one degree removed from a mysogynist, yet, to palliate his infirmity, to noble females he was most complete in his courtly addresses.

A perfect anti-papist.

28. He hated popery with a perfect hatred; and though oft declaring freedom and favour to im-

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[n] I believe he also was visitor thereof.

prisoned papists, as a minister of state, in obedience to his office; yet he never procured them any courtesies out of his proper inclinations. Yea, when Dr. [Bishop,] the new bishop of Chalcedon, at the end of king James his reign, first arrived in England, he gave the duke of Buckingham advice[o], (in case other circumstances conveniently concurred,) that the judges should presently proceed against him and hang him out of the way, and the king cast the blame on archbishop Abbot or himself, prepared it seemeth, to undergo his royal displeasure therein.

Favour of some nonconformists.

29. Not out of sympathy to nonconformists, but antipathy to bishop Laud, he was favourable to some select persons of that opinion. Most sure it is, that in his greatness he procured for Mr. Cotton, of Boston, a toleration under the broad seal for the free exercise of his ministry, notwithstanding his dissenting in ceremonies, so long as done without disturbance to the church. But as for this bishop himself, he was so great an honourer of the English Liturgy, that of his own cost he caused the same to be translated into Spanish and fairly printed, to confute their false conceit of our church[p], who would not believe that we used any book of common prayer amongst us[q].

The character of his person.

30. He was of a proper person, comely countenance, and amiable complexion, having a stately garb and gait by nature, which (suppose him prouder than he should be) made him mistaken prouder than he was. His head was a well filled treasury, and his tongue the fair key to unlock it.

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[o] Cabala, part i. 81[=273. Hacket, i. 95.]

[p] Cabala, part i. 79[=284.]

[q] [See Hacket's Life of Williams, i. 126.]

He had as great a memory as could be reconciled with so good a judgment; so quick his parts, that his extempore performances equalized the premeditations of others of his profession. He was very open, and too free in discourse, disdaining to lie at a close guard, so confident of the length and strength of his weapon.

His savoury speech.

31. Thus take we our farewell of his memory, concluding it with one of his speeches, (as savoury I believe as ever any he uttered,) wherein he expressed himself to a grave minister coming to him for institution in a living. "I have," saith he, "passed "thorough many places of honour and trust, both "in church and state, more than any of my order in "England this seventy years before; but were I "but assured that by my preaching I had converted "but one soul unto God, I should take therein "more spiritual joy and comfort than in all the "honours and offices which have been bestowed "upon me."

His death on our lady-day.

32. He died, as I take it, anno 1649[r], sure I am

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[r] [He died the 25th of March, 1650; see the account of his death in Hacket's Life of Williams, part ii. p. 227: where, speaking of the effects produced by the king's murder, strange to say, (though in this he is fully borne out by various testimonies,) the writer tells us, "that phrensies seized "on some, and sudden death "on many. It pierced the "archbishop's heart with so "sharp a point, that sorrow "sent him down the hill with "that violence, that he never "stayed till he came to the "bottom and died. As soon "as this blow was given, many "conceived despairs and are "big with it yet, that the "slavery under which the three "nations are fallen is irrecoverable, till the last and terrible day of the Lord. In "which doleful sadness, lord "primate Usher, I am witness "of it, continued to his end. "Dr. Floyd, a religious divine, "preaching a sermon at his funeral, (that is, of archbishop "Williams,) extolled the most "reverend father's devotion; "that from the heavy time of "the king's death he rose every "midnight out of his bed,

A. D. 1645. 21 Chas. I.

on the 25th of March, leaving a leading case, (not as yet decided in our law,) whether his half-year's rents (due after sunrise) should go with his goods and chattels unto his executor, or fall to his heir: the best was, such the providence of the parties concerned therein, that before it came to a suit, they seasonably compounded it amongst themselves.

"and having nothing but his "shirt and waistcoat upon him, "kneeled on his bare knees "and prayed earnestly and "strongly one quarter of an "hour before he went to rest "again. I will inform Dr. "Floyd in two things, which "he knew not. First, he ob-"served the season of midnight, "because the scriptures speak "of Christ's coming to judge "the quick and the dead at "midnight. Secondly, the "matter of his prayer was prin-"cipally this; *Come, Lord "Jesus, come quickly; and put "an end to these days of sin "and misery*. So much I "learnt from himself, and so "report it. His days were "consumed in heaviness, as "his nights in mourning; fa-"cetiousness, in which he "was singular, came no more "out of his lips; he ceased "from discourse, from com-"pany, as he could, and no-"thing could hale him out of "this obscurity. Two years "and almost two months he "consumed in a sequestered "and forlorn condition, scarce "any witness could tell what "he did all the while, but that "he prayed and sat at his book "all day, and much of the "night. His death came from "a sudden catarrh, which caus-"ed a squinancy by the inflam-"mation of the interior mus-"cles, and a shortness of breath "followed, which dissolved him "in the space of twelve hours. "In which term the virtuous "lady Mostyn, where he so-"journed, spake to him of his "preparation for heaven; says "he, *Cousin, I am already "prepared, and will be better "prepared*. So he called for "the minister that was the "nearest to read the Visitation "of the sick, and twice over, to "him, the greatest part where-"of, especially the Psalms, he "rehearsed distinctly himself, "and received absolution.— "When the pangs of death "approached many other pray-"ers were read, and short sen-"tences of devotion repeated "aloud in his ears; and those "words being often said: *The "Lord be merciful to thee; the "Lord receive thy soul*: at "that instant, first he closed "his eyes with one hand, and "then lifting up the other, his "lips moved, and recommend-"ing his spirit to his Redeem-"er, he expired." He died on his birthday.]

A list of parliament ordinances touching religion.

33. Come we now to present the reader with a list of the principal ordinances of the lords and commons which respected church matters. I say principal, otherwise to recite all (which wear the countenance of an ecclesiastical tendency, some of them being mingled with civil affairs) would be over voluminous. Yea, I have heard that a great antiquary[s] should say, that the orders and ordinances of this parliament in bulk and number did not only equal but exceed all the laws and statutes made since the Conquest; it will be sufficient, therefore, to recite titles of those most material, going a little backward in time, to make our history the more entire.

Die Martis, August 19, 1645.—" Directions of " the lords and commons (after advice had with the " Assembly of divines) for the election and choosing " of *ruling elders* in all the congregations, and in " the classical assemblies for the city of London " and Westminster, and the several counties of the " kingdom; for the speedy settling of the *presbyterial government*."

Die Lunæ, Oct. 20, 1645.—" An ordinance of the " lords and commons, together with rules and directions, concerning suspension from the sacrament " of the *Lord's supper* in cases of ignorance and " scandal. Also the names of such ministers and " others that are appointed triers and judges of the " ability of elders in the twelve classes, with the " province of London."

Die Sabbathi, March 14, 1645.—" An ordinance " of the lords and commons for keeping of scandal-

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[s] Sir Symonds D'Ewes.

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"ous persons from the sacrament of the *Lord's* "*supper*, the enabling of the congregation for the "choice of *elders*, and supplying of defects in "former ordinances and directions of parliament "concerning *church government*.

Die Veneris, June 5, 1646.—"An ordinance of "the lords and commons for the present settling "(without further delay) of the *presbyterial govern*"*ment* in the Church of England."

Die Veneris, August 28, 1646.—"An ordinance "of the lords and commons for the ordination of "ministers by the *classical presbyters* within their "respective bounds, for the several congregations "in the kingdom of England."

Die Sabbathi, Jan. 29, 1647.—"An ordinance of "the lords and commons for the speedy dividing "and settling of the several counties of this king"dom into distinct *classical presbyteries* and congre"gational elderships."

An order for the fifth part for ministers' wives and children.

34. Great now was the clamorous importunity of the wives and children of ministers sequestered, ready to starve for want of maintenance. I had almost called them the widows and orphans of those ministers, because, though their fathers were living to them, their means were not living to their fathers, and they left destitute of a livelihood. Indeed, there was an ordinance of parliament made 1644, empowering their commissioners in the country to appoint means (not exceeding a *fifth part*) to the wives and children of all sequestered persons; but seeing clergymen were not therein expressed by name, such as enjoyed their sequestrations refused to contribute any thing unto them. Whereupon the house of commons, compassionately reflecting on the distresses of

the foresaid complainers, made an order in more particular manner for the clergy, and (seeing it is hard to come by) I conceive it a charitable work here to insert a copy thereof.

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Die Jovis, Nov. 11, 1647.—"That the wives and "children of all such persons as are, or have been, "or shall be, sequestered by order of either houses "of parliament, shall be comprehended within the "ordinance that alloweth a *fifth part* for wives and "children, and shall have their *fifth part* allowed "unto them; and the committee of lords and com-"mons for sequestration, and the committee of "plundered ministers, and all other committees, are "required to take notice hereof, and yield obedi-"ence hereunto accordingly.

The copy thereof.

"H. Elsing,
"Clericus parliamenti domus communis."

35. But covetousness will wriggle itself out at a small hole. Many were the evasions whereby such clergymen possessed of their livings do frustrate and defeat the effectual payment of the *fifth part* to the aforesaid wives and children: some of which starting-holes we will here present, not to the intent that any should unjustly hide themselves herein, but that for the future they may be stopped up, as obstructing the true performance of the parliament's intended courtesy.

Several ways endeavoured to frustrate this order.

36. First, they plead that taxes being first deducted, tithes are so badly paid, they cannot live and maintain themselves if they must still pay a *fifth part* out of the remainder. Such consider not, if themselves cannot live on the *whole grist*, how shall the families of such sequestered ministers subsist on the *tole*.

First evasion.

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Second evasion. 37. Secondly, if the foresaid minister hath a wife without children, or children without a wife, or but one child, they deny payment, as not within the letter, though the equity, of the order; though one child is as unable to live on nothing as if there were many more.

Third evasion. 38. Thirdly, if the sequestered minister hath any temporal means of his own, or since his sequestration hath acquired any place wherein he officiateth, though short of a comfortable subsistence, they deny payment of a *fifth part* unto him.

Fourth evasion. 39. Fourthly, they affright the said sequestered minister, threatening to new article against him for his former faults; whereas, had he not been reputed a malignant, not a *fifth part*, but all the *five parts* were due unto him.

Fifth evasion. 40. Fifthly, many who have livings in great towns, especially vicarages, disclaim the receiving of any benefits in the nature of tithes, and accept them only in the notion of benevolence. Then they plead nothing due to the sequestered minister out of the free gratuities which only are bestowed upon them.

Sixth evasion. 41. Sixthly, they plead that nothing can be demanded by virtue of the said ordinance, longer than the sitting of the said parliament which made it, which long since is dissolved: now though this be but a dilatory plea, (themselves enjoying the *four parts* by virtue of the same order,) yet though it doth not finally blast, it doth much set back the *fifth part*, and whilst the same groweth the ministers' wives and children starve.

Seventh evasion. 42. Lastly, of late, since the setting forth of the proclamation, "that all who disquiet their peace-

" able possession, who are put into livings by the " parliament's order, should be beheld as enemies of " the state;" such sequestered ministers, who only sue the refusers to pay the *fifth part*, unblamable in all things else, are threatened (though they humbly conceived contrary to the true intent of the proclamation) with the foresaid penalty if they desist not in their suit. Many more are their subterfuges, besides vexing their wives with the tedious attendance to get orders on orders; so that as one truly and sadly said, the *fifths* are even paid at sixes and sevens.

Remember the poor.

43. I am sorry to see the pitiful and pious intentions of the parliament so abused and deluded by the indirect dealings of others, so that they cannot attain their intended ends for the relief of so many poor people, seeing no doubt therein they desired to be like the Best of Beings, who as closely applieth His lenitive as corrosive plasters, and that His mercy may take as true effect as His justice. Sure if the present authority (when at leisure from higher employment) shall be pleased to take the groans of these poor souls into its consideration, the voice of their hungry bowels will quickly be turned to a more pleasant tune; from barking for food to the blessing of those who procured it. Nor let any censure this [as] a digress from my history, for though my estate will not suffer me, with Job, *to be eyes to the blind and feet to the lame*[t], I will endeavour what I can to be a tongue for the dumb.

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[t] Job xxix. 15.

SECT. XI.

TO THE NOBLE

LADY ELEANOR ROE,

RELICT TO THE HONOURABLE SIR THOMAS ROE[a].

Madam,

I find that my namesake[b], *Thomas Fuller, was pilot in the ship called the Desire, wherein captain Cavendish surrounded the world.*

Far be it from me to compare these my weak undertakings to his great adventures. Yet I may term this my book the Desire, as wherein I desire to please and profit all, justly to displease none. Many rocks and storms have I passed, by God's blessing, and now am glad of so firm an anchorage as a dedication to your ladyship.

I believe, Madam, none of your sex in our nation hath travelled farther than yourself; yet this section of our history

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[a] [Daughter of sir Thomas Cave, bart. of Stamford, Northamptonshire; first married to sir George Beeston, of Cheshire. Collins, ii. 176. Sir Thomas Roe, son of Robert Roe, esq. of Low Layton, Wanstead, Essex, her second husband, was the celebrated ambassador employed by king James and king Charles in various negotiations in Turkey, Denmark, Sweden, and Germany. At his death in 1644, he bequeathed several books to the Bodleian library; and his widow, lady Eleanor, enriched it with a collection of silver coins. See Wood's Ath. ii. 52. These are the arms of the lady's family, (azure, fretty, argent,) for the arms of Rowe, or Roe, as given in the scarce portrait prefixed to his Negotiations, are the same as those given by Morant; a chevron with three plates, or bezants, between three trefoils, two and one. Hist. of Essex, i. p. 35. Of his lady, (who was related to the loyal Mrs. Cave, so well known for her services to Charles I.) sir Thomas says, in one of his letters to secretary Calvert, "that shee was yet "never sick, dismayed, nor "afraid at sea," p. 39.]

[b] Hackluit's voyages, part iii. p. 825.

A.D. 1648.
24 Chas. I.

may afford you a rarity not seen before. I know you have viewed the tomb of S. Polycarpus, but here the hearse is presented unto you of one whose death cannot be paralleled in all particulars.

Great alterations by the visitors in Oxford.

LATELY certain delegates from the university of Oxford pleaded their privileges before the committee of parliament, that they were only visitable by the king, and such who should be deputed by him. But their allegations were not of proof against the paramount power of parliament, the rather because a passage in an article at the rendition of Oxford was urged against them, wherein they were subjected to such a visitation. Whereupon many masters were ejected their places, new heads of houses made, and soon after new houses to those heads, which produced great alteration.

Clergymen meeting in the Isle of Wight.

2. Come we now to the church part of the treaty in the Isle of Wight, as the sole ecclesiastical matter remaining: here appeared of the divines chosen by the king, James Usher, archbishop of Armagh; Brian Duppa, bishop of Salisbury; doctor Sanderson, doctor Sheldon, doctor Henry Ferne: as for doctor Brownrigg, bishop of Exeter, (when on the way) he was remanded by the parliament because under restraint, and it was reported that Dr. Prideaux, bishop of Worcester, wanted (the more the pity,) wherewith to accommodate himself for the journey. Mr. Stephen Marshall, Mr. Joseph Caryll, Mr. Richard Vines, and Mr. Lazarus Seaman, were present there by appointment from the parliament[c].

All matters managed in writing.

3. It was not permitted for either side personally to speak, but partly to prevent the impertinencies

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[c] An account of this conference was published separately.

of oral debates, partly that a more steady aim might be taken of their mutual arguments, all things were transacted *in scriptis:* his majesty consulted with his chaplains when he pleased. The king's writings were publicly read before all by Mr. Philip Warwick, and Mr. Vines read the papers of his fellow divines, the substance whereof we come here to present.

The effect of his majesty's first paper.

4. His majesty began, the effect of whose first paper was to prove that the apostles, in their own persons, by authority[d] derived from Christ, exercised their power in ordinations, giving rules and censures.

ii. That Timothy and Titus[e], by authority derived from the apostles, did or might actually exercise the same power in the three branches specified.

iii. That the angels of the seven churches, Rev. ii. 3, were so many *personæ singulares* of such as had a prelacy, as well over pastors as people.

From the premises, his majesty inferred that our bishops succeed to the function of the persons afore named. The rather because the same plainly appeareth out of the history of the primitive Church, the writings of Ignatius and other ancient authors. In conclusion his majesty desired to be satisfied from them; what were the substantials of church government appointed by Christ and His apostles, and in whose hands they are left, and whether they bind to a perpetual observation thereof; or may upon occasion be altered in whole or in part.

The parliament divines answer thereunto.

5. The next day the parliament divines put in their answer to the king's paper, wherein they con-

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[d] Joh. xx. 21.

[e] Tit. i. 5.

fessed, that the places of scripture cited by him proved, in those persons by him named, a power respectively to do the three things specified; but they utterly denied that the foresaid persons were bishops as distinct from presbyters, or exercised the government in that sense.

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i. To the instance of the apostles, they answered, that they had an extraordinary calling, and so nothing thence can be inferred to prove modern bishops.

ii. That Timothy and Titus were evangelists, and the first is expressly so termed[f]; nor could they be bishops, who resided not in one dioceſs, but often removed from place to place.

iii. That the denomination of the angels of the churches being allegorical, no firm argument can be taken thence, nor weight laid thereon. Besides, those epistles of St. John, though directed to one, were intended to the whole body of the church.

They denied that the apostles were to have any successors in their office, affirming but two standing officers in the church; presbyterians and deacons. They cited Philippians i. 1, 1 Tim. iii. 8, for the proof thereof; where there is no mention of bishops as distinct from presbyters, but of the two orders only, of bishops or presbyters and deacons.

6. As for the succeeding ages to the apostles, seeing scripture reacheth not unto them, they can but beget a human faith, which is uncertain and fallible; besides, such the darkness of those times in respect of church history, that little certainty can be thence extracted, yet it appeareth in Clement himself, that he useth the same word for bishop and

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[f] 2 Tim. iv. 5.

presbyter; and as for Ignatius his Epistles, little credit is to be given unto them.

7. Lastly, there is a great difference between primitive episcopacy and the present hierarchy, as much enlarged in their power and privileges by many temporal accessions, whereof no shadow or pretence in scripture. In conclusion, they humbly besought his majesty to look rather to the original of bishops in holy writ, than to their succession in human history.

8. As to the point of substantials in church government appointed by Christ, wherein his majesty desired satisfaction, the return was short and general, that such substantials were in the scripture, not descending to any particulars. Whether out of policy, foreseeing it would minister matter of more debate, or obedience to the parliament, as alien from the work they were designed for, who were only to oppose episcopacy as qualified in the bill presented to his majesty.

The king's rejoinder to the parliament divines.

9. Three days after the king gave in his answer to this first paper of the divines, wherein he acknowledged that the word *episcopus* (denoting an overseer in the general sense) agreeth as well to presbyters as ministers, in which respect they are sometimes in scripture confounded, both meeting in the joint function of overseeing God's flock. But soon after, common usage, the best master of words, appropriated *episcopus* to the ecclesiastical governor, leaving *presbyter* to signify the ordinary minister, or priest, as in the ancient fathers and councils doth plainly appear.

10. As to the extraordinary calling of the apostles, he confessed their unction extraordinary, consisting in their miraculous gifts, which soon after ceased when churches were planted, but he urged their mission to

govern and teach, to be ordinary, necessary, and perpetual in the church, the bishops succeeding them in the former, the presbyters in latter function.

11. Their evasion that Timothy and Titus were evangelists, and not bishops, is clearly refuted by Scultetus, Gerard, and others, yea, (as his majesty is informed,) is rejected by some rigid presbyters, as Gillespie, Rutherford, &c. Besides, that Timothy and Titus were bishops is confirmed by the consentient testimony of antiquity, (St. Hierome himself recording them made by St. Paul's ordination,) as also by a catalogue of twenty-seven bishops of Ephesus, lineally succeeding from Timothy, as is avouched by Dr. Reynolds against Hart.

12. If the angels mentioned in the Revelations were not singular persons who had a prelacy over the church, whether were they the whole church, or so many individual pastors therein, or the whole college of presbyters, or singular presidents of those colleges? For into so many opinions these few are divided amongst themselves, who herein divide themselves from the ancient interpretation of the church government.

13. Concerning ages succeeding the apostles, his majesty confesseth it but a human faith, which is begotten on human testimonies, yet so that in matter of fact it may be infallible, as by the credit of history we infallibly know that Aristotle was a Greek philosopher.

14. The objected obscurity of church history in primitive times is a strong argument for episcopacy, which, notwithstanding the darkness of those times, is so clearly extant by their unquestionable catalogues.

15. It is plain out of Clement, elsewhere, even by

the confession of one[g], (not suspected to favour the hierarchy,) that he was accounted a bishop as distinct from a presbyter. As for Ignatius his Epistles, though some out of partial disaffection to bishops have endeavoured to discredit the whole volume of them, without regard of ingenuity or truth; yet sundry of them, attested by antiquity, cannot with any forehead be denied to be his, giving testimony of the prelacy of a bishop above a presbyter.

16. As for the difference between primitive episcopacy and present hierarchy, his majesty did not conceive that the additions granted by the favour of his royal progenitors for the enlarging of the power and privileges of bishops, did make the government substantially to differ from what it was, no more than arms and ornaments make a body really different from itself, when it was naked and divested of the same.

17. Whereas they besought his majesty to look rather to the original than succession of bishops, he thought it needful to look at both, the latter being the best clue in such intrinsic cases to find out the former.

18. Lastly, he professed himself unsatisfied in their answer, concerning the perpetual and unalterable substantials of church government, as expecting from them a more particular resolution therein than what he had received.

The return of the parliament divines to the king.

19. Eleven days after the parliament divines put in their answer to his majesty's last paper; herein they affirmed, they saw not by what warrant this writ of partition of the apostles' office was taken forth: that the governing part should be in the hands of the bishops; the teaching and sacrament-

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[g] Vedelius Exerc. 8. in Ignat. cap. 3.

izing in the presbyters, scripture making no such enclosure or partition wall. Besides, the challenge of episcopacy is grown to more than it pretended to in ancient times; some fathers[h] acknowledging that bishops differed from presbyters only in matter of ordination.

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20. The abettors, say they, of this challenge, that they might resolve it at last into scripture, ascend by the scale of succession, going up the river to find the head, which, like the head of Nile, cannot be found. Such who would carry it higher endeavour to impe it into an apostolical office, and at last call it a divine institution, not by force of any express precept, but implicit practice of the apostles.

21. They also returned that his majesty's definition of episcopal government is extracted out of the bishops of later date than scripture times.

22. Concerning the ages succeeding the apostles. However episcopal government was generally current, yet the superscription thereof was not judged divine by some of those which were themselves bishops, or lived under that government.

23. As they firmly believed, as to matter of fact, that Chrysostom and Augustine were bishops, as that Aristotle was a philosopher, so they would rather call such a belief, grounded upon human testimonies uncontrolled, certain than infallible.

24. The darkness of the history of the church in the times succeeding the apostles, had an influence on the catalogue makers, who derived the series of the succession of bishops, taken much from tradition and reports; and it is a great blemish of their evidence, that the nearer they come to the

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[h] St. Chrysost. St. Hierom, and of moderns, bishop Bilson.

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apostles' times, (wherein this should be most clear to establish the succession firm at the first,) they are most doubtful and contradictory one to the other.

25. They granted that a succession of men to feed and govern those churches, which by ecclesiastical writers, in compliance with the language of their own times, were called bishops, but not distinct from presbyters; so that if such a succession from the primitive times *seriatim* were proved, they would either be found more than bishops, as apostles and extraordinary persons, or less, as merely first presbyters, not having the three essentials to episcopal government insisted on by his majesty.

26. As for Ignatius, he cannot distinctly be known in Ignatius his Epistles, such their insincerity, adulterate mixture, and interpolations; and take him gross, he is the patron of such rites as the church in that age never owned.

27. They professed, that in their last answer, they related not to a school nicety, *utrum episcopatus sit ordo vel gradus*, the question being stated by popish authors, to whom they had no eye or reference.

28. They humbly moved his majesty, that the regiments of human testimonies on both sides might be discharged the field, and the point of dispute tried alone by dint of holy scripture.

29. They honoured the pious intentions and magnificence of his royal progenitors, acknowledging the ornamental accessions to the persons made no substantial change in the office; but still, it remained to be proved that primitive episcopacy and present hierarchy are the same.

30. They affirmed also that the power of episcopacy under Christian and pagan princes is one and

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the same, though the exercise be not; but acknowledging the subordination thereof to the sovereign power, with their accountableness to the laws of the land.

31. They conclude with thanks to his majesty's condescension in vouchsafing them the liberty and honour in examining his learned reply, praying God that a pen in the hand of such abilities might ever be employed in a subject worthy thereof.

32. Some days after, his majesty returned his last paper, wherein he not only acknowledgeth the great pains of these divines to inform his judgment according to their persuasions, but also took especial notice of their civilities of the application, both in the beginning and body of their reply.

33. However he told them they mistook his meaning when they —— of a writ of partition, as if his majesty had cantoned out the episcopal government, one part to the bishops, another to the presbyterians alone; whereas his meaning was, that the office of teaching is common to both alike, but the other of governing peculiar to bishops alone[i].

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[i] [On account of the abrupt termination of this passage, our author was thus attacked by his indefatigable censurer, Dr. Heylin: "The man who reads "this passage cannot choose but "think that his majesty, being "vanquished by the arguments "of the presbyterians, had "given over the cause; and "therefore, as convicted in his "conscience, rendereth them "thanks for the instruction "which he had received, and "the civilities they used to"wards him in the way there"of. But he that looks upon "his majesty's last paper, will "find that he had learnedly "and divinely refelled all their "arguments; and having so "done, puts them in mind of "three questions which are "proposed in his former pa"per, acknowledged by them"selves to be of great import"ance in the present contro"versy; without an answer "whereunto, his majesty de"clared that he would put "an end to that conference. "'*It not being probable,*' as he

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Tanta fides quantus author.

34. I know not what truth there was in (and by consequence what belief is to be given to) their intelligence, who have reported and printed that in order of a pacification his majesty condescended,

i. That the office of ordination for the space of three years should not be exercised by the bishops without the assent of the presbytery, and if this did not please,

ii. That it should be suspended until twenty of his own nomination, consulting with the synod, (assembled by the appointment of the houses,) should determine some certainty touching some ecclesiastical government.

iii. That in the meantime the presbytery should be settled for experiment sake.

iv. That though he would not suffer bishops' lands to be sold and alienated from the church, yet he permitted them to be let out for ninety-nine years, paying a small price yearly in testimony of their hereditary right for the maintenance of bishops.

v. That after that time expired they should return to the crown, to be employed for the use of the church.

Here some presumed to know his majesty's intention; that he determined with himself in the interim to redeem them by their own revenues, and

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" told them, '*that they should* " *work much upon his judgment, whilst they are fearful* " *to declare their own, nor possible to relieve his conscience* " *but by a free declaring of* " *theirs.*' But they not able " or not daring, for fear of " displeasing their great masters, to return an answer to " those questions, his majesty " remained sole master of the " field, &c." To this Fuller replies; " The posting press— " — mistaking my copy complete, and not attending my " coming from London that " morning from Waltham, clapt " it up imperfect." Appeal, &c. p. 48.]

to refund them to ecclesiastical uses, which is proportionable to his large heart[k] in matters of that nature.

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The king fetched from the Isle of Wight and condemned at London.

35. Many now did hope for a happy agreement betwixt the king and parliament, when divine Providence (whose ways are often above reason but never against right) had otherwise ordered it; and seeing it was God's will, it shall be ours to submit thereunto[l]. Oh, *what can a day bring forth!*[m] especially some pregnant day in the crisis of matters, producing more than what many barren years before beheld. The king's person is seized on and brought up to London, arraigned before a select committee for that purpose, indicted, and upon his refusal to own their authority, finally condemned. But these

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[k] For he gave the duke of Richmond the entire revenues of the archbishopric of Glasgow, in Scotland, to hold them until he should furnish him with lands of the same value, expressing then his resolution to restore them to the church.

[l] [There seems to have been a hope entertained at this time by some of the more moderate, that an amicable arrangement might have been made between the king and the parliament. Mr. Evelyn in this year has made the following entry in his diary: "4 May. Came "up the Essex petitioners for "an agreement 'twixt his ma"jesty and the rebels. The "16th, the Surrey men ad"dressed the parliament for "the same; of which some of "them were slain and murder"ed by Cromwell's guards in "the New Palace Yard." Probably, their desires would have been frustrated, had it not been for the army, at this time quartered at Whitehall. Indeed so general was the expectation that the city would be plundered by the soldiers, that a proclamation was issued "for "all to stand on their guard." At the 13th Dec. there is the following entry in Mr. Evelyn's diary: "The parlia"ment now sat up the whole "night and endeavoured to "have concluded the Isle of "Wight treaty, but were sur"prised by the rebel army; the "members dispersed, and great "confusion everywhere in ex"pectation of what would be "next."]

[m] Prov. xxvii. 1.

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things belong to the historian of the state, and this subject in itself is not so amiable and tempting as to invite us to trespass in the property of others in courting the prosecution thereof.

Extremum hunc concede mihi.

36. My cue of entrance is to come in where the state writer doth go out, whose pen hath always followed the confessors into the chambers of dying people; and now must do its last devoir to my gracious master, in describing his pious death and solemn burial.

He heareth the last sermon.

37. [n] Having received in himself the sentence of death, Dr. Juxon, bishop of London, preached privately before him, at St. James', on the Sunday following; his text, Rom. ii. 16, *In the day when God shall judge the secrets of men by Jesus Christ, according to my gospel.*

Receives the communion.

38. Next Tuesday being the day of his dissolution, in the morning, alone, he received the communion from the hands of the said bishop[o]; at which time he read for the second lesson the 27th chapter of St. Matthew, containing the history of the death and passion of our Saviour. Communion ended, the king heartily thanked the bishop for selecting so seasonable and comfortable a portion of scripture, seeing all human hope and happiness is founded on the sufferings of our Saviour. The bishop modestly disavowed any thanks due to himself, it being done

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[n] [For the most complete and authentic information of the trial of Charles I., see "A "true copy of the Journal of "the High Court of Justice "for the Trial of Charles I., "as it was read in the House "of Commons, and attested "under the hand of Phelps, "clerk to that infamous court. "Taken by J. Nalson, &c. "1684."]

[o] [Nalson, p. 112.]

merely by the direction of the Church of England, whose rubric appointeth that chapter the second morning lesson for the thirtieth of January. A.D. 1648. 24 Chas. I.

Is patient when affronted.

39. His hour drawing nigh, he passed thorough the Park to Whitehall: as he always was observed to walk very fast, so now he abated not any whit of his wonted pace. In his passage, a sorry fellow (seemingly some mean citizen) went abreast along with him, and in an affront often stared his majesty in the face, which caused him to turn it another way. The bishop of London, though not easily angered, was much offended hereat, as done out of despiteful design, to discompose him before his death, and moved the captain of the guard he might be taken away, which was done accordingly[p].

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[p] [The proceedings against the king to the very last moment were marked with signal barbarity. He was fetched from St. James's to Whitehall at ten in the morning; when he arrived at the place of execution the scaffold was not fully prepared, and he was consequently compelled to wait in this painful suspense for two hours. During his trial the brutal Bradshaw had interrupted him in all attempts to justify his conduct, and now, at the last moment, the tyrants artfully contrived to prevent his being heard by posting soldiers at such distances as checked the approach of the spectators, and frustrated the king's design of addressing them. The following remarks, which are found in Nalson's History of the Trial, supply some particulars omitted by Fuller, and are too interesting to be neglected:— "About two of the clock," says that writer, "his majesty was "brought from St. James' to "Whitehall by a regiment of "foot, with colours flying and "drums beating, part marching "before and part behind, with "a private guard of partisans "about him, the bishop on the "one hand and colonel Tomlinson (who had the charge of "him) on the other, both bareheaded; his majesty walking "very fast, and bidding them "go faster, added: 'That he "now went before them to "strive for a heavenly crown, "with less solicitude than he "had often encouraged his soldiers to fight for an earthly "diadem.'

"Being come to the end of "the Park, he went up the "stairs leading to the long gallery in Whitehall, and so in-

His last question.

40. Entering on the floor of death, he asked of colonel Tomlinson, who attended there, whether he might have the liberty to dispose of his own body, as to the place and manner of the burial thereof? The colonel answered that he could give his majesty no account at all therein.

and speech falsely printed.

41. His majesty held in his hand a small piece of paper, some four inches square, containing heads whereon in his speech he intended to dilate; and a tall soldier, looking over the king's shoulders, read it as the king held it in his hand. As for the speech which passeth in print for the king's, though taken in short-hand by one eminent therein, it is done so defectively it deserveth not to be accounted his speech, by the testimony of such as heard it. His speech ended, he gave that small paper to the bishop of London[q].

Trouble well prevented.

42. After his death, the officers demanded the

" to the cabinet chamber, where " he used formerly to lodge. " There, finding an unexpected delay in being brought " upon the scaffold, which they " had not as then fitted, he " passed the time at convenient " distances in prayer. About " twelve of the clock, his majesty, refusing to dine, only " ate a bit of bread and drank " a glass of claret, and about an " hour after, colonel Hacker, " with other officers and soldiers, brought him, with the " bishop and colonel Tomlinson, through the banqueting " house to the scaffold, to " which the passage was made " through a window. Divers " companies of foot and troops " of horse were placed on each " side of the street, which hindered the approach of the " very numerous spectators, " and the king from speaking " what he had premeditated." Nalson, Trial, p. 113. The fatal stroke was given within a minute of two o'clock in the afternoon, Sanderson, 1138, by the executioner, who wore a vizard.]

[q] [He spoke very little, directing himself chiefly to colonel Tomlinson; the rebels having taken the precaution of posting numerous companies of horse and foot on each side of the street to prevent the approach of the populace. Nalson, ib. p. 113, who has preserved the king's speech on this occasion.]

paper of the bishop; who, because of the depth of his pocket, smallness of that paper, and the mixture of others therewith, could not so soon produce it as was required. At last he brought it forth, but therewith the others were unsatisfied, (jealousy is quick of growth,) as not the same which his majesty delivered unto him; when presently the soldier, whose rudeness (the bad cause of a good effect) had formerly over inspected it in the king's hand, attested this the very same paper, and prevented farther suspicions, which might have terminated to the bishop's trouble[r].

His corpse carried to Windsor.

43. On the Wednesday sennight after[s], his corpse, embalmed and coffined in lead, was delivered to the care of two of his servants to be buried at Windsor; the one Anthony Mildmay, who formerly had been his sewer, as I take it; the other, John Joyner, bred first in his majesty's kitchen, afterwards a parliament captain, since by them deputed (when the Scots surrendered his person) cook to his majesty. This night they brought the corpse to Windsor, and

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[r] [" From the bishop of " London, long time kept pri- " soner," says Sanderson, "they " take away all the king's pa- " pers, ransack his coffers and " clothes for scripts and scrolls; " but Almighty God in his pro- " vidence hath preserved a vo- " lume of the king's own apost- " hume work." Reign of King Charles, p. 1139.]

[s] [As soon as the head was severed from the body, it was placed in a coffin, and covered with a black velvet pall. On its removal to the king's house at St. James's, a great multitude of people pressed forward to see the king in the place where he lay, but few had leave to enter and behold it. Here his enemies, with a malice and villany almost unparalleled in history, " directed their empirics to search " for such symptoms as might " disgrace his person or his posterity; but herein they were " prevented by an honest intruder, who gave a true ac- " count of his sound and ex- " cellent temperament." Nalson, ibid. p. 118. Sanderson, p. 1138.]

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The lords follow after it. 44. But next day the duke of Richmond[u], the marquis of Hertford[x], and earls of Southampton[y] and Lindsey[z] (others, though sent to, declining the service, so far was their fear above their gratitude to their dead master) came to Windsor and brought with them two votes passed that morning in parliament; wherein the ordering of the king's burial, for the form and manner thereof, was wholly committed to the duke of Richmond, provided that the expense thereof exceeded not five hundred pounds. Coming into the castle, they shewed their commission to the governor, colonel Whichcot, desiring to inter the corpse according to the Common Prayer-Book of the Church of England; the rather because the parliament's total remitting the manner of the burial to the duke's discretion implied a permission thereof. This the governor refused, alleging it was improbable that the parliament would permit the use of what so solemnly they had abolished, and therein destroy their own act.

The governor's resolution. 45. The lords returned, that there was a difference betwixt destroying their own act, and dispensing with it, or suspending the exercise thereof. That no power so bindeth up its own hands as to disable itself in some cases to recede from the rigour of their own acts, if they should see just occasion. All would not prevail, the governor persisting in the negative, and the lords betook themselves to their sad employment.

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[t] [Their wish, in the first instance, was to have buried the body in king Henry the Seventh's chapel, in Westminster Abbey, but this was denied them; his enemies conceiving that the sympathies of the people would be too violently moved by so public a funeral, and a disturbance be created, which "was judged "unsafe and inconvenient."]

[u] [James Stewart.]

[x] [William Seymour.]

[y] [Thomas Wriothesley.]

[z] [Montague Bertie. To these names should be added that of Juxon, bishop of London. Whatever praise, however, is due to this service, belongs to Mr. Herbert and bishop Juxon; and let them have it; these lords came in when the others were already considerably advanced in their work.]

The lords, with much searching, find a vault.

46. They resolved not to inter the corpse in the grave which was provided for it[a], but in a vault, if the chapel afforded any. Then fall they a searching, and in vain seek for one in king Henry the Eighth his chapel, (where the tomb intended for him by cardinal Wolsey lately stood,) because all there was solid earth; besides, this place, at the present used for a magazine, was unsuiting with a solemn sepulture. Then with their feet they tried the quire, to see if a sound would confess any hollowness therein, and at last (directed by one of the aged poor knights) did light on a vault in the middle thereof.

The description thereof.

47. It was altogether dark, as made in the midst of the quire, and an ordinary man could not stand therein without stooping, as not past five foot high. In the midst thereof lay a large leaden coffin, with the feet towards the east, and a far less on the left side thereof. On the other side was room, neither to spare nor to want, for any other coffin of a moderate proportion.

One of the order buried therein.

48. That one of the order was buried there, plainly appeared by perfect pieces of purple velvet (their proper habit) remaining therein; though some pieces of the same velvet were fox-tawney, and

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[a] [That is, an ordinary grave provided by the governor.]

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Presumed to be king Henry the Eighth. 49. Now a concurrence of presumptions concluded this great coffin to contain the corpse of king Henry the Eighth, though there was neither arms nor any inscription to evidence the same.

See it in the end of king Henry his reign. i. The place exactly corresponds to the designation of his burial, mentioned in his last will and testament.

ii. The small coffin in all probability was his queen's, Jane Seymour's, (by whom in his will he desired to be buried,) and the room on the other side seems reserved for his surviving wife, queen Katherine Parr.

iii. It was never remembered nor recorded that any subject of that order was interred in the body of that quire, but in by chapels.

iv. An hearse stood over this vault in the days of queen Elizabeth, which (because cumbering the passage) was removed in the reign of king James.

I know a tradition is whispered from mouth to mouth, that king Henry his body was taken up and burned in the reign of queen Mary, and could name the knight (her privy councillor, and then dwelling not far off) muttered to be employed in this inhuman action. This prevailed so far on the lord Herbert's belief, that he closeth his History of King Henry the Eighth with these suspicious words, "To "conclude, I wish I could leave him in his grave." But there is no certainty hereof, and more probable that here he quietly was reposed. The lead coffin being very thin was at this time casually broken, and some yellow stuff, altogether scentless, like powder of gold, taken out of it, (conceived some exsiccative gums wherewith he was embalmed,) which the duke caused to be put in again and the coffin closed up[b].

The leaden inscription on his coffin.

50. The vault thus prepared, a scarf of lead was provided some two foot long and five inches broad, therein to make an inscription. The letters the duke himself did delineate, and then a workman was called to cut them out with a chisel. It bare some debate whether the letters should be made in those concavities to be cut out, or in the solid lead betwixt them. The latter was concluded on, because such vacuities are subject to be soon filled up with dust and render the inscription less legible, which was

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The plumber soldered it to the coffin about the breast of the corpse within the same[c].

The corpse deposited.

51. All things thus in readiness, the corpse was brought to the vault, being borne by the soldiers of the garrison; over it a black velvet hearse-cloth,

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[b] [See a very interesting paper by sir Henry Halford, with the following title: "An Account of what Appeared on "Opening the Coffin of King "Charles the First, in the "Vault of King Henry the "Eighth in St. George's Chapel at Windsor, on the First "of April, 1813." Reprinted at the end of the second volume of the Life of James the Second, edited by Dr. Clarke.]

[c] [Herbert mentions a very touching circumstance in his affecting narrative: "This is "memorable," he says, "that "at such time as the king's "body was brought out of St. "George's Hall, the sky was "serene and clear, but presently it began to snow, and "fell so fast, as by that time "they came to the west end of "the royal chapel the black "velvet pall was all white, "(the colour of innocency,) being thick covered over with "snow." Memoirs, p. 206.]

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the four labels whereof the four lords did support: the bishop of London stood weeping by, to tender that his service which might not be accepted. Then was it deposited in silence and sorrow in the vacant place in the vault (the hearse-cloth being cast in after it) about three of the clock in the afternoon, and the lords that night (though late) returned to London.

APPENDIX A.

[As FULLER has passed over the last two years of this king's reign in a very rapid and cursory manner, it has been thought advisable to reprint, by way of supplement, the Memoirs of Sir Thomas Herbert, who attended the king in his bedchamber during that period, and was a loyal adherent to his royal master in the time of his greatest troubles.]

SIR THOMAS HERBERT'S MEMOIRS, &c.

SIR,

BY yours of the 22nd of August last, 1679, I find you have received my former letters of the first and thirteenth of May, 1678. And seeing it is your further desire I should recollect what I can well remember upon that sad subject, more at large, I am willing to satisfy you therein, so far forth as my memory will assist.

Some short notes of occurrences I then took, which, in this long interval of time, and several removes with my family, are either lost or mislaid, so as at present I cannot find them;

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[a] This Memoir took its rise from the following circumstance:—About the year 1677 or 1678, the parliament having voted a large sum of money towards a solemn funeral of the late king, sir William Dugdale, who had the superintendence of the ceremonies, as Garter King of Arms, sent to sir Thomas Herbert to inquire of him whether he had ever heard the king express a wish in regard to the bestowing of his body after death. Sir Thomas in his answer enlarged upon various particulars, then little known, which induced sir William Dugdale to request of him the following short treatise here reprinted. See Wood's Ath. ii. 692. Sir Thomas died at York in 1682, aged 76.

which renders this narrative not so methodical, nor so large, as otherwise I should, and probably by you may be expected. Nor would I trouble you with what any other has written, but, in a summary way, give you some court passages, which I observed, during the last two years of his late majesty's life and reign, being the time of his solitude and sufferings. Neither will I retrospect to times of hostility, which (as I imagine) ceased in or about the month of August, 1646[b], nor speak of the grounds of that unhappy and destructive war, occasioned either by a contest for the militia in this kingdom, or from some uproars in Scotland, arising (as pretended) by our introducing the Book of Common Prayer, in conformity to the liturgy; which they retaliated by endeavouring to impose upon us their discipline and forms of a Presbytery.

These, with some other apprehensions, made the first difference betwixt the king and parliament. But referring you to the histories which fully mention those things, you may there observe, that about the middle of April, 1646, the king being then at Oxford, had certain intelligence that sir Thomas Fairfax was returned out of the western countries, and upon the 27th of that month arrived at Newbury with his army, in order to his besieging the city of Oxford, which accordingly was, within four days after, invested: so as his majesty thought fit to leave that important garrison to the care of sir Thomas Glenham, the governor, a valiant and expert warrior, and in the night season, disguised and attended only by his servant Ashburnham[c] and Dr. Hudson, hastened to the Leager before Newark, which at that time was on the one side straitened by major-general Poyntz, who commanded there the parliament forces; and on the other by general Leven[d] and the Scots army, into whose hands his majesty was pleased to intrust himself, having (it seems) a solemn engagement from them to defend his royal person with their lives and fortunes; and not a little rejoicing was expressed in their camp at his majesty's reception. For at his command, the 10th of May, the garrison was forthwith surrendered by the lord Bellasis, the governor;

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[b] Sir Thomas was admitted to his place as groom of the bedchamber in 1647.

[c] See Ashburnham's Memoirs, p. 57, 80.

[d] That is, Alexander Lesley.

as the English forces were put into possession of the town d castle, which was well provided for defence; and the Scots ving got the king into their hands, marched with great haste to the north, till they attained Newcastle, where they rested, aking that place their head quarters; which being known sir Thomas Glenham, he entered into a treaty with sir homas Fairfax about the middle of May, and upon honourble terms Oxford was yielded upon Midsummer-day, which as the 24th of June following. The governor (at the treaty roposing that he might have the liberty to know his majesty's leasure, whether he should yield up the garrison or not) had he king's approbation with the lords of his majesty's privy ouncil, then in Oxford, for his surrender.

Mean time the lords and commons in parliament assembled n Westminster, disliking that the king should so long and so ruitlessly continue amongst the Scots within this kingdom; he house of commons upon the 17th of April, 1646, published declaration for maintaining a right understanding between he two kingdoms of England and Scotland, asserting thereby, hat in as much as a safe and good peace is the right end of just war, it was by them the more passionately desired; nd to that end and purpose they had framed several propositions to be sent to the king, (some of which were primarily transmitted from both houses to their brethren of Scotland, for their consent, that those proposals might in the name of both kingdoms be tendered to the king.) Which being agreed, the lords and commons about the middle of July following, sent their desires (entituled "Propositions for a Safe and Well-grounded Peace to be presented his Majesty,") by the earls of Pembroke and Suffolk[c], members of the house of peers, with four of the house of commons, namely, sir Walter Earle, and sir John Hippesly, knights, Robert Goodwin, and Luke Robinson, esquires; who being come to Newcastle (which they attained in few days, the summer-season favouring) the day after their arrival, they presented their propositions to the king. Who having heard them read, and deliberated upon them, disapproved of them, in regard they insisted upon confirmation of the national league and covenant, the abolishing of episcopacy, investing the subject with the militia, exempting from pardon several lords and other considerable persons, that, during the war, adhered to him; so as his majesty would in no wise give his royal assent. Nevertheless was graciously pleased to give the commissioners his hand to kiss, and to dismiss them with a friendly aspect. Who being returned to Westminster, made their report, and had the thanks of both houses for their pains.

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[c] Philip Herbert the notorious and selfish poltroon, and James Howard.

The parliament soon after came to an agreement with the Scots, to entrust the king with them; hoping that his drawing nearer London might conduce to a more speedy composure of the present unhappy differences between them. And likewise, that upon payment of two hundred thousand pounds (sterling) the Scots army should depart this kingdom, as upon the 15th of November, 1646, which was by the house of commons publicly declared. The one moiety of that sum to be paid at Newcastle, upon their march back into Scotland; the other half within twelve months after. Both which were punctually performed.

Things being thus prepared in order thereto, the parliament nominated and appointed the earls of Pembroke and Denbigh[f], the lord Montague of Boughton, and double their number of some members of the house of commons; namely, sir James Harrington, sir John Holland, sir John Cooke[g], baronets, sir Walter Earle, knight, John Crew, esquire, and major-general Browne, with some private gentlemen, viz. sir Fulk Grevil, knight, Mr. James Harrington[h], Mr. Thomas Herbert, Mr. Anthony Mildman, Mr. ——— Ansty, Mr. Babington, Mr. Muschamp, Mr. Clement Kinnersly, Mr. Reading, with some others, who accompanied those lords and gentlemen of the house of commons, to attend his majesty with his other servants, if he should think fit to approve of them. Mr. Stephen Marshal and Mr. Joseph Caryl (two ministers of the assembly of divines) also went along as chaplains to those lords and members of the house of commons, commissioners of parliament.

[f] Basil Fielding.

[g] Notorious for the part which he took in the king's trial.

[h] Afterwards groom of the bedchamber with Herbert.

The 12th of January, 1646[i], those noblemen and gentlemen, (members of both houses,) with the other gentlemen aforenamed, set forth from London, (the lords in their coaches,) and went the first night to Dunstable, the second to Northampton, the third to Leicester, the fourth to Nottingham, the fifth to Doncaster, the sixth to Wetherby, the seventh to North-Allerton, the eighth to Durham, the ninth to Newcastle; in all two hundred miles, which with bad ways and short days made the travel less pleasant.

The commissioners, after a very short repose, went to the house where the king then lodged in Newcastle; and being conducted to the presence-chamber, his majesty, soon after his being acquainted with their coming, came into the presence, and with affability received and gave them his hand to kiss; and being by the commissioners told the occasion of their repair thither to attend his majesty, the king seemed very well pleased therewith, and said they were welcome, for he knew most of them, none of them were strangers to him, and no less welcome was their business; well hoping, that his drawing nearer his parliament would be a means to remove jealousies and distrusts, and establish a right understanding betwixt him and his two houses of parliament.

The king, both by his alacrity and cheerfulness of his countenance, made it appear to all that were there (and the presence-chamber was then full thronged) that he was no less willing to part from the Scots than they with him; and that his going south was very satisfactory to him: and after some mirthful passages with the earl of Pembroke, who (let others say what they will) loved the king in his heart, and certainly had never separated from him, had he not (by the procurement of some ill-willers) been committed to the Tower, and his white staff taken from him, only by reason of a sudden and unhappy falling out at a committee in the painted-chamber, with his kinsman the lord Mowbray, father to the duke of Norfolk; and the lord chamberlain's office conferred upon the earl of Essex, in which place the earl of Pembroke had served his majesty many years, with much honour, honesty, and splendor. The king told him he was glad to see he could so well in his old age perform so long a winterly journey with the rest of the commissioners who were youthful. He then advised them to go and refresh themselves, and attend him the next morning, which the commissioners accordingly observed.

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[i] N. S. 1647.

Next morning being come, the commissioners attended his majesty, and after dinner humbly prayed his majesty to declare his pleasure as to his remove from Newcastle. The king then told them, he would not go thence till they had rested themselves some time, as was convenient; being that they were to enter upon a further travel. After about four days longer stay, they repeated their desire, that his majesty would be pleased to appoint both the time and place he would remove unto, that orders might be given to make ready accordingly; both which he did, so that all things were speedily prepared by his majesty's old servants for his journey to his house at Holdenby in Northamptonshire, commonly called Holmby, a very stately house, built by the lord chancellor Hatton, as the last and greatest monument of his youth, as he expressed; and, in king James's reign, purchased by queen Anne, for her second son the duke of York, who, by the death of prince Henry, became prince of Wales, and afterwards to the present duke, second son to king Charles the First, of whom we are now speaking.

And as my memory will serve, give me leave to name the several places his majesty lodged at between Newcastle and Holmby, the distance betwixt those two being about eight score miles.

The first night the king (being attended by his commissioners) came to Durham, the second to Richmond, the third to Rippon, the fourth to Leeds, the fifth to Rotheram, the sixth to Nottingham, the seventh to Leicester, the eighth to Holmby; at some of which towns he staid some few days.

And it is note-worthy, that through most parts where his majesty passed, some out of curiosity, but most (it may be presumed) for love, flocked to behold him, and accompanied him with acclamations of joy, and with their prayers for his preservation; and, that not any of the troopers, who guarded the king, gave those country-people any check or disturbance, as the king passed, that could be observed, a civility his majesty was well pleased with.

Being arrived at Holmby, very many country gentlemen, gentlewomen, and others of ordinary rank, stood ready there to welcome the king with joyful countenances and prayers.

The house was prepared with all things requisite by Mr. Clement Kinnersly, his majesty's servant in the wardrobe; others also performing their duties in their respective offices and places: so as the court was accommodated with all things needful, both in reference to the king, and likewise to the commissioners, their chaplains, gentlemen, attendants, and others, and all within the king's house, without straitening; and all the tables were as well furnished as they used to be when his majesty was in a peaceful and flourishing state.

At mealtimes, the commissioners never failed to wait upon the king with all due observance, and there being none of his majesty's chaplains in ordinary to wait, whom by his letter, dated the sixth of March, he desired, but denied by both houses, in regard they had not taken the covenant, the two divines, Mr. Marshall and Mr. Caryl, (who came along with the commissioners,) were most times present, when his majesty dined and supped, and willing to crave a blessing, but the king always said grace himself, standing under the state, his voice sometimes audible. His majesty, nevertheless, was civil to those ministers, seeming to have a good esteem of them, in reference to what he had heard, both as to their learning and conversation. Nor did he express a dislike towards any of his servants then attending him, as were free to repair to the chapel, where those ministers by turns preached forenoon and afternoon, every Lord's day, before the commissioners, and others of the household; albeit, as some of them would say, they had rather have heard such as the king better approved of. The king every Sunday sequestered himself to his private devotion, and all other days in the week spent two or three hours in reading, and other pious exercises; at other times, for recreation, would after meals play a game at chess, and, for health sake, walk oft in the garden at Holmby with one or other of the commissioners; and in regard there was no bowling-green then well kept at Holmby, the king would sometimes ride to Harrowden, a house of the lord Vaux's about nine miles off, where there was a good bowling-green with gardens, groves, and walks, that afforded much pleasure. And other whiles to Althorpe, a fair house about two or three miles from Holmby, belonging to the lord Spencer, now earl of Sunderland, where also there was a green well kept. The king in his going to Harrowden passed over a bridge where major Bosvile[k], disguised like a labouring man, stood and gave his majesty a packet from the queen. The king told the commissioners, it was to obtain his leave for the prince to accompany Monsieur that campaign, in the French army, so as the disguised person was excused.

In this interim jealousies increased, which begot fears, against which there is no fence. The commissioners pursuant to their instructions one time addressed themselves all together unto the king, and acquainted him therewith, and humbly prayed his majesty to dismiss such of his servants as were there, and had waited upon him at Oxford.

This application of theirs was in no wise well pleasing to the king (having had long experience of the loyalty and good affection of those his servants) as appeared by his countenance, and the pause he made ere he gave the commissioners any answer. Howbeit after some expostulation and deliberation, he condescended to that they proposed, they not opposing the continuance of Mr. James Maxwell and Mr. Patrick Maule[l] their attendance upon his royal person, as grooms of his majesty's bedchamber, in which place they had many years faithfully served the king.

Next day his majesty's servants came, as at other times, into the presence-chamber; where, at dinner-time, they waited: but after his majesty arose from dinner, and acquainted them with what had passed betwixt him and the commissioners, they kissed his majesty's hand, and with great expressions of grief for their dismiss, poured forth their prayers for his majesty's freedom and preservation, and so departed. All that afternoon the king withdrew into his bedchamber, having given orders, that none should interrupt him in his privacy.

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[k] Probably sir Thomas Bosvile of Eynsford in Kent.

[l] Afterwards earl of Penmaure in Scotland.

Soon after this, his majesty purposing to send a message to the parliament, after dinner he called the earl of Pembroke to him, and told him he would have Mr. Herbert come into his chamber, which the earl acquainting the commissioners with, Mr. Herbert was brought into the bedchamber by Mr. Maxwell, and, upon his knee, desired to know his majesty's pleasure; who told him, he would send a message to the parliament: and having none there that he usually employed, and unwilling it should go under his own hand, called him in for that purpose. Mr. Herbert having written as his majesty did dictate, was by him enjoined secresy, and not to communicate it to any till made public by both houses[m], if by them held meet; which he carefully observed.

About a week after, the king was pleased to tell the commissioners, that seeing Mr. James Levington, Mr. Henry Murray, Mr. Ashburnham, and Mr. Legge, were for the present dismissed, he had taken notice of Mr. Harrington and Mr. Thomas Herbert, who had followed the court since his coming from Newcastle; and being well satisfied with the report he had concerning them, as to their sobriety and good education, he was willing to receive them as grooms into his bedchamber, to wait upon his person with Mr. Maxwell and Mr. Maule; which the commissioners approving, they were that night admitted, and by his majesty instructed as to the duty and service he expected from them.

They thenceforth attended his royal person, and agreeable to that great trust, with due observance and loyalty, as became servants; and by Mr. Maxwell and Mr. Maule were affectionately treated. Mr. Harrington was a gentleman well accomplished, had waited upon the prince elector palatine in his chamber, had travelled Germany, Italy, and France, and spake their languages. Mr. Herbert in like sort had travelled through most parts of the Greater Asia, as also several parts of Afric and Europe[n].

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[m] Wood thinks that this had reference to "His Majesty's message for Peace," dated from Holmby, May 12, 1647. Athen. ii. 691.

[n] And published an account of his travels.

His majesty, during his stay at Holmby, such times as he did not ride abroad for refreshment, would walk in the long gravel walk in the garden; where the earl of Pembroke was ofttimes with the king, and not without some difficulty held pace with him, his majesty being quick and lively in his motion. And other times with others of the commissioners, but most with major-general Browne, with whom the king was pleased to discourse often. And whensoever the king thus recreated himself, he never had above one in company, the rest keeping at a becoming distance, in some other part of the privy-garden. For indeed as the commissioners always expressed a high respect to the king, so the king was very affable to the commissioners all the time they attended his majesty.

During his majesty's being at Holmby, the earl of Pembroke fell sick by cold he had taken, and for three weeks kept his chamber, and turning to a fever he kept his bed; and was so ill that Mr. Bathurst his physician had for some days (in regard he was ancient) small hopes of his life. The lord Herbert, his son, (having notice) hastened to him, according to his duty, which was some comfort to the earl; and his majesty sent Mr. Herbert every day to inquire of his condition, and in person was graciously pleased to visit him twice, which kindness helped (as the doctor said) much to his recovery.

It is well worth our observation, that in all the time of his majesty's restraint and solitude he was never sick, nor took any thing to prevent sickness, or had need of a physician: which (under God) is attributed to his quiet disposition and unparalleled patience; to his exercise, when at home walking in the gallery and privy-garden, and other recreations when abroad; to his abstemiousness at meat, eating but of few dishes, (and as he used to say) agreeable to his exercise, drinking but twice every dinner and supper, once of beer, and once of wine and water mixed, only after fish a glass of French wine, the beverage he himself mixed at the cupboard, so he would have it; he very seldom eat and drank before dinner, nor between meals.

His majesty being one afternoon at bowls in the green at

Althorpe, it was whispered amongst the commissioners, who were then at bowls with the king, that a party of horse, obscurely headed, was marching towards Holmby; and for no good it was presumed, in regard neither the commissioners, nor colonel Graves, who kept the guard at Holmby and was an officer in the army, nor the commissioners' servants, had the least notice of it from any officer or other correspondent in the army.

Whereupon the king, so soon as he was acquainted with it, immediately left the green, and returned to Holmby; where the commissioners, after consultation with colonel Graves, resolved to stand upon their guard, and accordingly they forthwith doubled the guards for defence of his majesty's person; and major-general Browne, calling all the soldiers together, acquainted them with the occasion, who promised to stand by him, and not to suffer any attempt upon the king's person, or affront to the commissioners: but the difference is great betwixt saying and doing, as soon appeared; for about midnight came that party of horse, which in good order drew up before the house at Holmby, and at all avenues placed guards; which done, the officer that commanded the party alighted and demanded entrance. Colonel Graves and major-general Browne asked him his name and business. He replied his name was Joyce, a cornet in colonel Whaley's regiment, and his business was to speak with the king. "From whom?" said they. "From myself," said he: at which they laughed. "It is no laughing matter," said Joyce. They then advised him to draw off his men, and in the morning he should speak with the commissioners. "I came not hither to be advised "by you," said he, "nor have I any business with the com- "missioners, my errand is to the king, and speak with him I "must and will presently." They then bid the soldiers within stand to their arms, and be ready to fire when ordered. But during this short treaty betwixt the cornet and the colonel, the soldiers had conference together, and so soon as they understood they were fellow-soldiers of one and the same army, they quickly forgot what they had promised; for they opened the gates and doors, shook one another by the hand, and bade them welcome. So little regard had they to their promise, either in reference to the king's safety, or the commissioners that attended him.

Entrance being thus given, strict search was made after the colonel, who (though he was faultless, yet was it suggested he would have privately conveyed the king to London,) got happily out of their reach. Centinels were ordered by Joyce to be set at the commissioners' chamber-doors, that he might with less noise carry on his design, and find way to the backstairs, where the grooms of his majesty's bedchamber attended. The cornet being come to the door, in rude manner knocked; those within asking who it was that in such uncivil manner and so unseasonable a time came to disquiet the king's rest. The cornet replied, his name was Joyce, an officer of the army, sorry he should disquiet the king, but could not help it, for speak with him he would, and that presently.

This strange confidence of his, and the posture he was in (having a cocked pistol in his hand) amazed these four gentlemen, Mr. Maxwell, Mr. Maule, Mr. Harrington, and Mr. Herbert, whose duty it was and care to preserve his majesty's person, and were resolved to sacrifice their lives rather than give him admittance; they in the first place asked Joyce if he had the commissioners' approbation for his intrusion. He answered, No; for he had ordered a guard to be set at their chamber-doors, and that he had his orders from those that feared them not. He still pressed for entrance, and engaged his word to do the king no harm: they on the other side persuaded him to lay aside his arms, and to forbear giving disturbance, the king being then asleep, assuring him that the next morning he should have his majesty's answer to his errand. The cornet refused to part with either sword or pistol, and yet insisted to have the chamber-door opened. But these gentlemen keeping firm to their resolution, that he should not enter, the noise was so loud (which in this contest could not be avoided) as it seems awakened his majesty, for he rung his silver bell, at which Mr. Maxwell went into the bedchamber to know the king's pleasure, the other three gentlemen meantime securing the door. The king, being acquainted with the business and uncivil carriage of the cornet, sent word, he would not rise nor speak with him until morning: which being told the cornet, he huffed; but seeing his design could not be effected in the night, he retired: so as for a few hours there was silence.

Morning being come, the king arose a little sooner than ordinary, and, having performed his morning exercise, he sent for Joyce, who with no less confidence than if he had been a supreme officer, approached the king, and acquainted him with the commands he had concerning his removal. The king desired the commissioners might be sent for, and his orders communicated to them. The cornet replied, "They "were to return back unto the parliament." "By whose "appointment?" said the king. As to that, the cornet had no answer. The king then said, "By your favour, sir, let "them have their liberty, and give me a sight of your instructions." "That," said Joyce, "you shall see presently;" and forthwith drawing up his troop into the inner court, as near as he could unto the king. "These, sir," said he, "are my "instructions." The king took a good view of them, and finding them proper men and well mounted and armed, smilingly told the cornet, his instructions were in fair characters, legible without spelling[o]. The cornet then pressing the king to go along with him, no prejudice being intended, but rather satisfaction: the king told him he would not stir, unless the commissioners went along with him. The cornet replied, for his part he was indifferent. However the commissioners in this interim had, by an express, acquainted the parliament with this violence; and so soon as they perceived his majesty was inclinable to go with Joyce, and that it was the king's pleasure they should follow him they knew not whither, they immediately made themselves ready. Nevertheless several questions they asked the cornet, whose answers were insignificant. The commissioners then seeing reason was of no force to dissuade, nor menaces to affright, they were willing to attend the king at all adventures.

This audacious attempt exceedingly troubled the commissioners; and the more, for that they knew not how to help it, as well appeared by their countenances. And indeed it saddened the hearts of many; the king was the merriest of the company, having (it seems) a confidence in the army, especially from some of the greatest there, as was imagined.

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[o] According to sir John Berkeley, he had a guard of four hundred horse.

The king (then being in his coach) called the earls of Pembroke and Denbigh, as also the lord Montague, into it; the other commissioners (members of the house of commons) being well mounted, followed; leaving Holmby languishing: for about two years after, that beautiful and famous structure was, amongst other his majesty's royal houses, pulled down by order of the two houses of parliament, to satisfy the soldiers' arrears: whereby the splendor of the kingdom was not a little eclipsed, as by their ruins is now sadly manifested[p].

His majesty following his guide, the confident cornet, came that night to Hinchingbrook, heretofore a nunnery, now a fair mansion-house of colonel Edward Mountague, created earl of Sandwich, in the twelfth year of the reign of king Charles II.; which colonel married Jemima daughter to Mr. Crew, who was created a baron of England the year after. Here his majesty was treated with honour and hearty welcome, as were also the commissioners and the king's servants. From Hinchingbrook the king went next night to Childersly, a house of sir John Cutts, about four miles from Cambridge; where, during his majesty's three days stay, many masters, fellows, graduates, and scholars of that university repaired, to most of which the king was graciously pleased to give his hand to kiss, for which honour they returned their humble and gratulatory thanks with a *Vivat rex*.

Thither also came sir Thomas Fairfax, general of the parliament army, lieutenant-general Cromwell, commissary-general Ireton, serjeant-major-general Skippon, lieutenant-general Hammond, colonel Lambert, colonel Whalley, colonel Rich, colonel Dean, and several other field and commission officers of the army, as also Mr. Hugh Peters, Mr. Dell, Mr. Sedgwick, and others; some of which, so soon as they came into the presence, kissed his majesty's hand; the general sir Thomas Fairfax in the first place, whom the king took aside;

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[p] According to Mr. Baker, the Northamptonshire historian, this is not quite correct. The house was sold with the timber, when the crown lands were alienated by the parliament, and the palace levelled to the ground by the purchaser, who preserved only some few of the offices.

and for about half an hour discoursing with him, the general (unasked) disavowed his majesty's seizure by Joyce at Holmby, as done without his order or approbation, but probably by some other powerful officer of the army, seeing that the cornet was neither at a council of war, nor otherwhere called to question for it.

His majesty being now in the custody of the army, was highly caressed by all the great officers, who seldom failed to wait and discourse with him as opportunity offered. But the king had most conference with the general, the lieutenant-general, and commissary-general Ireton, (who indeed had the greatest influence in the army,) and then behaved themselves with civility and due respect to his royal person, which made the king sometimes very pleasant in his discourse with them; nor were the private soldiers wanting, in their way, to oblige all that followed the king with civility.

From Childerley the king removed to his house at Newmarket, which was fitted for his reception, as well as that little edifice would admit, and where for some weeks he continued; and thence by messages, repeating to his two houses of parliament his desires of a further treaty for peace, that at Uxbridge concluding without any good success.

Whilst the king was there, he would be often upon Newmarket heath to recreate himself, sometimes in his coach, but most part riding. That heath, for good air and pleasure, gives place to no other in this great island, insomuch that king James took exceeding delight there in hunting, hawking, and races, both horse and foot, and much frequented by former princes.

The army officers, during his majesty's residence at Newmarket, were constantly attending. The commissioners likewise continued their waiting on the king; who, in this condition appeared very cheerful, having, as it was presumed, fair hopes as well as promises, that some of the grandees of the army would be instrumental, and, by their undoubted interest with the two houses and the army, endeavour a happy understanding and accommodation between him and his parliament, being in the mean time *sub Dei numine tutus.*

It may not be forgotten, that during his majesty's stay at

Newmarket, very many of the gentry and others, men, women, and children, repaired thither from most parts of Cambridgeshire, Suffolk, Essex, and other neighbouring counties, to see the king: so that the presence-chamber was constantly thronged with people, especially when his majesty was at dinner or supper, and he seldom or never failed to dine in public; and when the people saw his majesty withdraw, their prayers in loud acclamations ever followed him. The king still observed his usual hours for private devotion; and being acquainted that he was in a few days to remove thence to Hampton-court, he seemed much satisfied therewith, both that he might draw nearer his two houses of parliament, and for that the restraint upon him was there to be taken off, and he to have the exercise of public worship as heretofore, by his chaplains' attendance; and likewise that those his servants, who were dismissed at Holmby, should have liberty to return and wait in their respective places; willing nevertheless that the earl of Pembroke, and the other lords and gentlemen, members of the house of commons, (their commissioners,) should abide with him, as also the other gentlemen that had attended his majesty, after his former servants were discharged by the commissioners.

The king leaving Newmarket, took not the ready way to Hampton-court, his progress being according to the motion of the army; so that for the most part he lodged at noblemen's houses, save that at Royston, in his own little house, seldom used but when he hunted in those large open fields, where king James took much recreation; here his majesty stayed two days, though the house was capable but of few attendants, and meanly furnished; the town nevertheless, being large, made amends by that good accommodation it afforded the commissioners and the general officers of the army, as also his majesty's followers and servants, which then were numerous.

Here it was, (if my memory serve right,) that a gentleman, who was envoy from some German prince, whose dead father had been a companion to the knights of the most noble order of the Garter, made an address to his majesty, with a letter and return of the George and Garter, which was richly set with diamonds; and, according to the usual custom, humbly prayed to have his majesty's directions with whom they should be deposited. The jewels formerly were sent to the master of the king's jewel-house, and the robes deposited with the dean of Windsor. A military officer, being in the room, was so malapert as to interpose, to the end that he might be privy to this affair, and hear what the envoy had to communicate to the king, who by his frown expressed his displeasure for so great a rudeness towards him, and incivility to the stranger; but Mr. Babington, the king's barber, standing by, and better understanding good manners, instructed the army officer by removing him further off; with which the king was well pleased, and the officer (no less than a colonel) had a sound reproof soon after from sir Thomas Fairfax, the general.

From Royston the king removed, June 26, to Hatfield in Hertfordshire, about thirteen miles north of London; a very noble house belonging to the lord Cecil, earl of Salisbury, having a vineyard, gardens and walks full of pleasure, where his majesty was treated with high civility and observance. Here the king stayed till the first of July; then removing to Windsor, and two days after to Caversham, a fair house of the lord Craven's, almost opposite to Reading, the river of Thames interposing; to which place repaired his highness the prince elector palatine, with several of the English nobility, as also sir Thomas Fairfax, and many officers of the army. On the 15th of July the king went to Maidenhead; and on the 20th to Woburn, heretofore a religious house for the Cistercians or White Monks, as we call them; now a large and fair house of the lord Russel, earl of Bedford, where his majesty was honourably and affectionately welcomed, the commissioners and attendants entertained with high civility, as were also the army officers; the earl of Cleveland with some other noblemen were here, and some late commander of the king's army attending to kiss his majesty's hand, had the freedom to wait and discourse, which was novel, as times then stood, and an omen of future harmony, as well-wishers to unity and peace conjectured.

From Woburn his majesty removed to Latimers in Buckinghamshire, a little but neat mansion-house of the lord Cavendish earl of Devonshire, the earl being then there to entertain the king. His majesty leaving Latimers, it was thought he would have removed thence to Berkhampstead, a house once belonging to the king, now to the Carys; but being unfurnished, and unfitted to lodge at, others imagined he would go to Ashridge, (not above two miles thence,) where the earl of Bridgewater hath a very noble house and park: but the head quarters being then at St. Alban's his majesty declined that northern progress, and rode by Cheneys and Rickmansworth to Moore Park, a place of much pleasure, (not above two miles from Watford,) heretofore a park and house of retirement to that most noble lord William Herbert earl of Pembroke, lord steward of his majesty's house, but since purchased by the lord Cary earl of Monmouth, with the curious gardens, water-works, &c. Where having dined, the king removed that night to Stoke, being about eight miles from Moore Park, a fair house, built by Henry lord Hastings earl of Huntingdon and lord president of the north; but since purchased by the lord chief justice Coke, whose daughter by the lady Elizabeth Cecil (the earl of Exeter's daughter and widow to the lord chancellor Hatton) being married to sir John Villiers, the duke of Buckingham's brother, it came to him, who in the year 1619 was created baron of this place and viscount Purbeck. The fourteenth day of August the king removed from Stoke to Oatlands, a large and beautiful house of the queen's upon the river of Thames; where, upon the plaistered wall in the stone gallery respecting the gardens, were very curiously pourtrayed that royal edifice (with Pontefract castle, Havering, Eltham, Nonsuch, and some other palaces assigned to her majesty) in like manner as you see at Fontainbleau, of several stately houses of the French kings. But, alas! this at Oatlands, with Richmond, Theobalds, Holmby, and other magnificent houses in this kingdom, were unhappily soon after pulled down, to raise money to satisfy the arrears of some regiments of the army: all which, it is believed, did not raise half so much as any of those princely houses cost when they were built; such are the miserable effects of civil war. During this progress eleven eminent members of the house of commons (desirous of peace) were accused of treason by the army; moving, that in the interim they might be expelled the house, and accordingly were secluded for six months, insomuch that some of them leaving this kingdom died beyond sea.

About the middle of August the king removed to Hampton-court, a most large and imperial house, built by that pompous prelate cardinal Wolsey, in ostentation of his great wealth, and enlarged by king Henry the Eighth, so as it became a royal palace; which, for beauty and grandeur, is exceeded by no structure in Europe; unless it be the Escurial in Spain, which appears so magnificent by having the addition of a fair monastery, dedicated to St. Lawrence, wherein live a hundred and fifty monks of the order of St. Jerome, and hath also a college, schools, and outhouses built by king Philip II. who married our queen Mary.

Hampton-court was then made ready for the court, and by Mr. Kinnersley, yeoman of the wardrobe, and others, prepared with what was needful for the court. And a court it now appeared to be: for there was a revival of what lustre it had formerly, his majesty then having the nobility about him, his chaplains to perform their duty, the house amply furnished, and his services in the accustomed form and state; every one of his servants permitted to attend in their respective places; nothing then appeared of discrimination; intercourse was free between king and parliament, and the army seemed to endeavour a right understanding amongst different parties: also some treaties passed upon proposals presented his majesty from the parliament, which gave hopes of an accommodation: the commissioners also continued their attendance about the king, and those gentlemen that waited at Holmby, were, by his majesty's appointment, kept in their offices and places; the general likewise, and other military commanders, were much at court, and had frequent conference with the king in the park, and other where attending him; no offence at any time passed amongst the soldiers of either party; there was an amnesty by consent, pleasing, as was thought, to all parties.

His majesty, during these halcyon days, intimated to the earl of Northumberland that he desired to see his children, who, at that time, were under the government of that nobleman, and then in his house at Sion, which is about seven miles from Hampton-court, in the way to London. The relater, amongst other the king's servants, followed his majesty to Sion, which is denominated from the holy mount, so named, near Jerusalem. This was first a monastery for monks, but they being by king Henry V. removed, in their rooms he placed nuns of St. Bridget's order; and under the same roof (but separated by several walls) put so many priests and friars as were in number equal to Christ with his apostles and disciples. All which votaries were ejected by king Henry VIII., the church pulled down, and a fair house raised for a retiring place of the lord Seymour, duke of Somerset, (as was his other great mansion-house in the Strand,) but at present belonging to the lord Piercy, earl of Northumberland. Here the king met the young duke of Gloucester, and princess Elizabeth, who, so soon as they saw their royal father, upon their knees they begged his blessing, who heartily gave it, and was overjoyed to see them so well in health and so honourably regarded.

The earl welcomed the king with a very noble treat, and his followers had their tables richly furnished, by his behaviour expressing extraordinary contentment, to see the king and his children together after such various chances, and so long a separation. Night drawing on, his majesty returned to Hampton-court.

The fairest day is seldom without a cloud; for at this time some active and malevolent persons of the army, disguised under the specious name of "Agitators," being two selected out of every regiment, to meet and debate the concerns of the army, met frequently at Putney, and places thereabouts; who of their own accord, without either authority (as some aver) or countenance of the general, upon fair pretences had frequent consultations; but intermeddling with affairs of state, were not unlike those that love to fish in troubled waters, and being men very popular in the army, had thence their impulse and approbation. What the result of councils amongst them was, who knows, or by what spirits agitated: yet about this time the house was rent, and the speaker went unto the army, which soon after marched through London to the Tower, to which was committed the lord mayor, and other dissenting citizens, in which confusion the king proposed a treaty, the Agitators, in opposition, published a book, intituled, "*An* "*Agreement of the People, which concerned his Majesty's Per*-"*son and Safety.*" But thence (as was well known) several things in design were rumoured, which fomented parties, and created jealousies and fears, and by some artifice insinuated, and a representation by letter gave his majesty an occasion of going from Hampton-court in the night, and in disguise with two grooms of his majesty's bed-chamber, Mr. Ashburnham and Mr. Legg, as also sir John Berkeley; and about the middle of November, anno 1647, passed through a private door into the park, where no centinel was, and at Thames-Ditton crossed the river, to the amazement of the commissioners, who had not the least foreknowledge or apprehension of the king's fear or intentions, and no less to the astonishment of the lords, and other his majesty's servants, the commissioners especially, who in this ignorance expressed great trouble of mind, until the lord Mountague opened a letter his majesty left upon his table, directed to him, giving a hint of what induced him to hasten thence in such a manner, being for self-preservation, yet kindly acknowledging their civility to his person all along, with his good acceptance of their loyalty and service.

His majesty being thus gone from Hampton-court, the king's servants went with sad hearts to their several homes, and the earls of Pembroke and Denbigh, the lord Mountague, sir John Holland, sir James Harrington, sir John Cooke, with the rest of the commissioners, having acquainted the parliament with the king's departure and the letter he was pleased to leave behind him, they immediately received an invitation from both houses to return to Westminster, which accordingly they observed, and for their long and faithful service had thanks from the parliament.

After few days it was known that the king was gone to Tichfield, a fair house of the earl of Southampton, and that upon the 13th November, 1647, he had crossed the sea, and was safe landed at Cowes in the Isle of Wight, where colonel Hammond the governor was attending, and passing through Newport (the principal town in that island) the governor, with alacrity and confidence, conducted his majesty to Carisbrook castle, attended only by sir John Berkeley[q], and those two gentlemen, his servants, lately mentioned. Sure I am, many that cordially loved the king did very much dislike his going to this place, it being so remote, and designed neither for his honour nor safety; as the consequence proved. A gentlewoman, as his majesty passed through Newport, presented him with a damask rose which grew in her garden at that cold season of the year, and prayed for him, which his majesty heartily thanked her for.

Carisbrook castle is the only place of defence within that island, albeit, upon the marine, the isle hath many forts, or block-houses. Its name is derived from Whitgare, a Saxon, corruptly contracted to Garisbrook. The isle being subdued at the Conquest by William Fitz Osborne, earl of Hereford, he built this castle, which in king Henry III. his time was enlarged by Isabel de Fortibus, sister and heir to Baldwyn, earl of Devon and Albemarle, who founded there a priory, dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen, for Benedictines or Black Monks, as we call them. The castle was new built (or enlarged rather) by order of king Henry VIII., and by queen Elizabeth regularly fortified; so as the outworks are large, and planted with great ordnance, and has served as a place of retreat for the islanders against the French and Spaniard, when the English were in war with them.

Thither (so soon as the king's being there was rumoured) repaired several of his old servants, and some new, such as his majesty at that time thought fit to nominate, (for some weeks there was no prohibition, any that were desirous to see his majesty might without opposal,) or that, according to the duty of their place, were to give their attendance. His majesty had free liberty to ride and recreate himself any where within the isle, when and where he pleased; the only want was, that his chaplains, Dr. Sheldon and Dr. Hammond, were not long tolerated to perform their office, which was no little grief to him, in regard he had no disposition to hear those that exercised according to the Directory which was then practised; but hindered not his private devotion, which every day he carefully attended, and the Lord's-day he observed by reading the Bible, and other books fitting him for prayer and meditation in his oratory.

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[q] See sir John Berkley's own account of this affair in his Memoirs, p. 163, and Ashburnham's Narrative, p. 101. That the king was inveigled into this place is scarcely doubtful. See Ludlow, p. 83.

Howbeit this liberty of refreshing in the isle abroad was of no long duration; for about the middle of February, colonel Hammond, the governor, (soon after the king arose from dinner,) came into the presence, which was under his majesty's bedchamber, and in solemn manner addressed himself to the king; and after a short preamble, said, he was sorry to acquaint his majesty with the orders he received the night before from his superiors, and then pausing a while, the king bid him speak out. The governor replied, his orders were to forbid Mr. Ashburnham, Mr. Legg, and the rest of his servants that were with him at Oxford, any further waiting on his person in that castle and garrison, the jealousies and apprehensions of those times judging it inconvenient to continue such in their attendance about his person.

The king, by his short silence, seemed surprised, and, by his countenance, appeared to be troubled. Such as were at that time in the presence noted it; but not knowing the occasion of his majesty's sadness, they seemed full of grief, as by their dejected looks was visible. But the king beckoning with his hand to Mr. Ashburnham and some others, he told them what the governor had communicated, and what he expected not, nor was agreeable to what some considerable persons had promised. But no remedy but patience, which in these straits he commonly had recourse unto, and is the noble way of overcoming.

His majesty's servants were much perplexed, and to expostulate with colonel Hammond, knew it would be to no purpose; the only comfort remaining was, that they were not excluded their royal master's affection, which supported them. Next day, after the king had dined, those gentlemen came all together, and prostrating themselves at his majesty's feet, prayed God for his preservation, and kissing his hand, departed.

This done, the day following a restraint began of the king's going any more abroad into the Isle of Wight, his majesty being then confined to Carisbrook castle and line without, albeit within the works, a place sufficiently large and convenient for the king's walking and having good air, and a delightful prospect both to the sea and land: and for his majesty's solace and recreation, the governor converted the barbacan (a spacious parading ground within the line, though without the castle) into a bowling-green, scarce to be equalled, and at one side built a pretty summer-house for retirement. At vacant hours these afforded the king most recreation, for the building within the castle walls had no gallery, nor rooms of state, nor garden, so as his majesty, constantly in the forenoons, exercised himself in the walks without, and in the afternoons there also, and in the bowling-green or barbacan. Nevertheless both times he carefully observed his usual times set apart for his devotion and for writing. Mr. Harrington and Mr. Herbert continued waiting on his majesty in the bedchamber: he gave Mr. Herbert the charge of his books, of which the king had a catalogue, and from time to time had brought unto him such as he was pleased to call for. The sacred Scripture was the book he most delighted in, read often in Bishop Andrews' Sermons, Hooker's Ecclesiastical Policy, Dr. Hammond's Works, Villalpandus upon Ezekiel, &c., Sandys's Paraphrase upon King David's Psalms, Herbert's Divine Poems; and also Godfrey of Bulloigne, writ in Italian by Torquato Tasso, and done into English heroic verse by Mr. Fairfax, a poem his majesty much commended, as he did also Ariosto, by sir John Harrington, a facetious poet, much esteemed of by prince Henry his master, Spencer's Fairy Queen, and the like, for alleviating his spirits after serious studies. And at this time it was (as is presumed) he composed his book called "*Suspiria* "*Regalia*," published soon after his death, and entitled "*The* "*King's Pourtraiture, in his Solitudes and Sufferings*," which manuscript Mr. Herbert found amongst those books his majesty was pleased to give him, (those excepted which he bequeathed to his children, hereafter mentioned,) in regard Mr. Herbert, though he did not see the king write that book, his majesty being always private when he writ, and those his servants never coming into the bedchamber, when the king was private, until he called; yet comparing it with his handwriting in other things, found it so very like, as induces his belief that it was his own handwriting, having seen much of the king's writing before; and to instance particulars in that his majesty's translation of Dr. Saunderson the late bishop of Lincoln's book "*De Juramentis*," or like title, concerning oaths, all of it translated into English, and writ with his own hand; and which, in his bedchamber, he was pleased to shew his servants, Mr. Harrington and Mr. Herbert, and commanding them to examine it with the original, they found it accurately translated; which his majesty not long after shewed the bishop of London Dr. Juxon, and also Dr. Hammond, and Dr. Sheldon, his majesty's chaplains in ordinary, (which first and last were afterwards archbishops of Canterbury,) such time as they waited upon him at Newport in the Isle of Wight during the treaty. In many of his books, he delighted himself with the motto, "*Dum spiro spero;*" which he wrote frequently as the emblem of his hopes as well as endeavours for a happy agreement with his parliament. A harmony and good accommodation he heartily desired, and a fair end to all matters that made this unhappy separation: mean time alleviating his mind by an honourable and cheerful submission to the Almighty, who in his wisdom orders and disposes all things according to his good pleasure, and who, in all his trials during his disconsolate condition, marvellously supported him with an unparalleled patience. In one of his books he writ this distich:—

> "Rebus in adversis facile est contemnere vitam:
> Fortiter ille facit qui miser esse potest."

And out of another poet, against the levelling and antimonarchic spirits which predominated at that time:—

> "Fallitur egregio quisquis sub principe credit
> Servitium; nunquam libertas gratior extat,
> Quam sub rege pio, ———." *Claudian.*

with many others which are memorable, and express his delight in learning. For he understood authors in the originals, whether Greek, Latin, French, Spanish, or Italian, which three last he spoke perfectly; and none better read in histories of all sorts, which rendered him accomplished, and also would discourse well in arts and sciences, and indeed not unfitted for any subject.

Notwithstanding this restraint, which the governor was strict in, (probably in pursuance of his instructions,) nevertheless several diseased persons, troubled with the evil, resorted thither from remote parts to be touched; and, after some stay in Newport or other villages about, made means to get within the line, and when the king went out of the castle towards his usual walk about the barbacan, they had their wished opportunity to present themselves afore him, and he touched them.

About this time one Mr. Sedgwick (sometime preacher in the parliament army) came to Carisbrook castle, and desired colonel Hammond the governor's leave to address himself to the king. Mr. Harrington being acquainted with the occasion, told his majesty, that a minister was purposely come from London to discourse with him about his spiritual concerns, and was desirous to present his majesty with a book he had lately writ for his majesty's perusal, which (as the gentleman said) if his majesty would please to read, he supposed might be of much advantage to him, and comfort in that his uncomfortable condition. The king thereupon came forth, and Mr. Sedgwick, in decent manner, gave his majesty the book, the title whereof was, "*Leaves of the Tree of Life,*" being an explication of the second verse of the twenty-second chapter of the Revelation of St. John. His majesty, after he read some part thereof, returned it with this short admonition and judgment, that, by what he had read in that book, he believed the composer stood in some need of sleep. The king's advice being taken in the best sense, the minister departed with seeming satisfaction.

Next day one Mr. Harrington, a gentleman of a fair estate near Bath in Somersetshire, (son to sir John Harrington afore-mentioned,) came in like sort to Carisbrook castle, upon the same charitable account. But his majesty, having heard something concerning him, thanked him likewise for his good intentions, having no mind to enter into discourse with him upon controversial points; so as that gentleman also returned next homewards, having first wished the king much happiness.

His majesty having thought fit to send a gracious message to his two houses of parliament, in the evening he gave it, sealed up, (and directed to the speaker of the house of lords *pro tempore*,) to his servant Mr. Herbert, with a letter to his daughter the princess Elizabeth, who was then at St. James's house near Whitehall with her governess. The wind was not favourable, so as Mr. Herbert had much ado to cross the sea from Cowes to Southampton; but in regard the king had ordered to make haste, so as the letter might be delivered next day before the house rose, no delay was suffered. Being landed he immediately took post for London. It may not be forgotten, that at one stage, the post-master, (a malevolent person,) having notice that the packet came from the king, and required extraordinary speed; mounted Mr. Herbert upon a horse that had neither good eyes nor feet, so as he usually stumbled very much, which, with the deep ways (being winter) and dark night, in all probability might have abated his speed, but (through God's goodness) the horse (though at his full gallop most part of that twelve miles riding) neither stumbled nor fell, which at the next stage was admired. The king's packet was delivered to the lord Grey of Warwick[r], (at that time speaker to the lords' house,) within the time limited; which done, he waited upon the princess Elizabeth, then at St. James's, who gave him her hand to kiss, being overjoyed with her royal father's kind letter; to which she returned another by Mr. Herbert, who had the king's approbation at his coming to Carisbrook for his diligence.

It was upon the 15th of April, the princess Henrietta (wife to the duke of Orleans afterwards) left Exeter (the place of her birth) and took ship for France to the queen; and upon the 15th of April, two years after that, the duke of York escaped from St. James's, and went to the prince, then in Holland.

Whilst these things were acting, the Scots, to regain their credit for delivering the king into the hands of the English,

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[r] One of the judges. He signed the warrant.

(contrary to their promise when he left Oxford, and intrusted himself with them, when they besieged Newark, as formerly hinted) upon a pretence to reinthrone the king. In or about May 1648, a Committee of Danger (as they termed it) was by an assembly of the States, in order thereto, constituted at Edinburgh, consisting of eight earls, eight barons, and eight burgesses, who being assembled, voted the raising an army of forty thousand men, to be commanded by duke Hamilton, with whom sir Marmaduke Langdale, and some other colonels, gave the duke an assurance to assist with three thousand horse and foot. All expedition was used to raise this army, that they might make their invasion with least opposition; having notice also from London and other parts, that upon the votes of making no further address, or receiving any message from the king, and that a closer restraint was by colonel Hammond thereupon put upon his majesty at Carisbrook castle, great discontents and murmurs arose amongst the people, in sundry parts of the nation, that broke out into insurrections; which, and with the intelligence duke Hamilton had, that sir Thomas Fairfax was engaged by the king's party in Kent, Surrey, and other counties about London, and that lieutenant-general Cromwell at the same time was busied about the reducement of Pembroke castle, and other fortified places in the remotest parts of South Wales, animated the Scots the more to quicken their march into England, notwithstanding the number of their forces were with such difficulty raised, as they lost their opportunity, as being unable to raise above one-third of the number they intended; nor did they enter England until the 13th of July 1648.

A little before this the Londoners, in great multitudes, petitioned both houses of parliament that the secluded members might be recalled, and those other released who were then under restraint, and be permitted to sit as formerly; part of their request was granted, upon their willingness to let major-general Skippon command the city militia; which being granted, several regiments were quartered in London, as also in Somerset house in the Strand, the Mews, and Whitehall, the rest of the army having quarters assigned more remote from London. The Essex and Surrey men likewise petitioned the two houses that the army might be satisfied their arrears, and then disbanded, and that the late vote for making no further address to the king might be nulled, and that they would comply with his majesty's proposal for a personal treaty.

That word, " disbanding," sounded harshly in the soldiers' ears, insomuch as some of them affronted the petitioners, so that from words they fell to blows, which was taken in ill part by many; but especially by such of their Kentish neighbours as inclined to the regal party, who, resenting the bad usage the Surrey petitioners had received, made that and the king's restraint the pretence of their sudden rising in arms, insomuch as upwards of ten thousand men, headed by Mr. Hales, and some other persons of note living there, publicly declared for king and parliament.

This was soon known to that part of sir Thomas Fairfax's army that quartered thereabout; for colonel Rich, with his horse regiment, and colonel Hewson with his of foot, fell upon a party near Gravesend, so as in disorder they made towards Maidstone, which place they fortified as well as few hands and little time gave leave, though to small purpose, those regiments marching after them with speed; nevertheless the dispute was very sharp, the Kentish men stood so well to their arms, and made such opposition, so that the fight was for some hours maintained with great resolution on both sides, and many were killed in the conflict; howbeit, in conclusion, the parliament soldiers had the better of the day, and took many prisoners, the rest that escaped marched towards the Thames, and with others rendezvoused upon Blackheath, where several officers and soldiers that had served in the king's army repaired to them, which so increased their number, as induced the lord Goring earl of Norwich to command that little army, who having intelligence that sir Thomas Fairfax was with several regiments of horse and foot advancing against him, he thought fit to decline the engagement till he had a reinforcement, and in order thereto he crossed the Thames near Greenwich into Essex, where sir Charles Lucas joined him with two thousand horse and foot; amongst which were many principal commanders, namely, the lord Capell, the lord Loughborough, and other officers of note; and being near four thousand men, they marched to Colchester, where expecting a siege in short space, with the help of many hands, they regularly fortified it.

Sir Thomas Fairfax had quick intelligence of their proceedings, so as he ordered colonel Hewson and colonel Rich with their regiments to quiet the Kentish commotion, and with the rest of the army he drew towards Colchester, which he closely besieged, about the middle of June 1648.

At this time was lieutenant-general Cromwell hurried about the reducement of the strong castle of Pembroke (the utmost part of South Wales,) which was defended by major-general Langhorn, colonel Powell, and colonel Poyer, men of signal courage and interest in those parts.

The Scots also, under duke Hamilton's command, about this time (which was the first week in July 1648) entered this kingdom near to Carlisle, (sir Philip Musgrave governor,) sir Marmaduke Langdale, with his brigade, joining with them. Much about this time also a great part of the navy, by procurement of vice-admiral Batten (in whose place the two houses of parliament had put colonel Ranesborough) declared for the king, and put themselves under the command of the prince of Wales, the duke of York going abroad, having in a disguise left St. James's, and the earl of Northumberland, his governor, and with one servant escaped, and got into Holland, (there being also aboard prince Rupert, and sundry other noblemen and gentlemen of quality, with two thousand soldiers, who being under sail quickly,) the wind favouring, landed at Yarmouth, in expectation of increasing their numbers in Norfolk, and the neighbouring counties, who had, during the late war, appeared for the king; but failing to come to his assistance, and hearing that colonel Scroop was with a considerable force upon a speedy march thitherward, the prince by advice of a council of war was persuaded to ship his men, and to direct his course toward Sandwich or Deal in Kent, to countenance those that had declared for the king: but his coming was too late, the parliament forces there having worsted the king's party. So as the prince finding the opportunity lost, and his fleet in want of provisions, weighing anchor, he returned into the Netherlands.

Nevertheless, about the beginning of July, the earl of Holland, seconded by the duke of Buckingham, the lord Francis Villiers, his brother, the earl of Peterborough[s], and several others of note, made a second attempt in Kent, upon his majesty's behalf, appearing with a considerable party of horse and foot, and marching in good order into Surrey, drew up near Kingston upon Thames, in hopes that several officers and private soldiers, who had served the king, would have come into their rendezvous; but few appearing to reinforce them, they marched towards Reygate, about a dozen miles from Kingston, which ere they could reach, they were engaged by colonel Rich his regiment of horse, and after a sharp skirmish forced to retreat back towards Kingston, and endeavouring to make good a pass between Ewell and Nonsuch-park, the fight was on either side maintained with extraordinary fierceness and valour, in which there were many gentlemen slain on both sides, amongst which was the lord Francis Villiers, who that day expressed much courage, and, as report goes, was offered but refused quarter[t].

The king's party being thus overcome, such as were not prisoners of war, (of which were several of the better sort,) the rest shifted for themselves the best they could. Nevertheless, the earl of Holland with a small party got to Kingston upon Thames, which place, though favouring the king's friends, and so near neighbouring Hampton-court, durst not in that condition warrant the earl's stay, the parliament forces being in pursuit; so as leaving that place, he hastened towards Huntingdon, thinking to find security there, at least for some time; but by the way, colonel Scroop interposing with two regiments of horse and foot from Norfolk, the earl after some resistance near St. Neot's, seven miles from Huntingdon, was taken prisoner, and thence, under a guard of horse, sent to Warwick castle, where he remained till he was brought to London. The duke of Buckingham, in this interim, passed through the county of Lincoln, to the sea-coast, where happily finding a small vessel, he adventured the sea, and having a favourable gale of wind, in few hours arrived safely in Holland, where he found the prince.

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[s] Henry Mordaunt.

[t] So Ludlow, p. 99.

Whilst these things were in agitation, duke Hamilton, upon the 13th of July (as hath been hinted) invaded England with his Scots, who were far short of the number the Committee of Danger voted at Edinburgh, as formerly mentioned; but was supplied by the splendor of his own equipage, his army (as some report) was not fifteen thousand horse and foot; yet by that addition from sir Marmaduke Langdale, and which sir Philip Musgrave and other English officers brought, he was twenty thousand men, or thereabouts. The Scots army marched as far as Appleby, in Westmoreland, without opposition, where major-general Lambert was quartered; near which, after a short dispute, the Scots made the English party to retire, first to Kirkby Steven, and then to Bowes, so as the Scots (to refresh themselves) stayed a few days in Kendal, expecting more force out of Scotland; which failed them.

Nevertheless, with the army he had, and animated with his late success, he marched into Lancashire, thinking there to be reinforced by many, that during the late war had appeared opposite to the parliament forces; but the report of lieutenant-general Cromwell's approach disanimated several persons of note in those parts; so that duke Hamilton failed much of his expectations. The sequestration of men's estates was so great a terror to many. Nor did major-general Monro, with his forces, follow the duke, as was intended; he and the marquis of Montrosse having enough to do at home by opposing the marquis of Argyle, who, with general Lesly, were against duke Hamilton's invading England.

Nor was the rumour of lieutenant-general Cromwell's march towards the Scots false. For so soon as he had intelligence of the duke's coming to Perth, he quickly dispatched his leaguer at Pembroke, which was surrendered; and, as with a flying army, made all haste possible to join with major-general Lambert and colonel Harrison to fight the Scots[u]. The duke therefore thought it his best course to adventure a speedy engagement: in order whereto he marched to Preston in Lancashire, and upon the 17th day of August (having notice by his scouts that the parliament forces observed his motion and were drawing up towards him) he drew up in battalia, upon a moor about three miles from Preston, where both armies faced each other; major Smithson commanded the forlorn, and worsted a part of the van of the Scots army, so as the armies immediately engaged.

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[u] See Ludlow, p. 100.

For two hours space the fight was equally maintained, and fought with marvellous fierceness and desperate courage, so as many were slain; but at length the Scots gave ground, and the greatest part of their army marched back towards Lancaster, the lesser part towards Preston. The parliament forces marched close after the Scots, who at Ribble-bridge (which is not far from Haughton-tower) made a stand, as resolving to make good that passage, which accordingly they for some hours maintained with great courage, but being overpowered by the English cavalry, who pressed upon the Scots with great resolution, and gained the pass, the duke (contrary to common sense) declined his retreat northwards towards Lancaster, whither the other part of his army was gone, and marched southwards to Wigan, (a small distance from Lathom, the earl of Derby's noble house,) and the next day to Warrington, watered by the river Mersey, over which there is a bridge, and where the Scots disputed that pass with signal courage. But the duke's army being much weakened through want of that part which went to Lancaster, and interposed by some regiments of the English army, and lieutenant-general Cromwell being some time before come up to reinforce major-general Lambert and colonel Harrison with a numerous party, finding his army much discouraged, and much inferior in strength to his adversaries, in despair, he left the foot to shift for themselves; who being thus deserted, about four thousand of them threw down their arms, having quarter; the duke, with three thousand horse, escaping to Nantwich in Cheshire; where, and by their disordered march, the greatest part were snapped by the country people and some soldiers that followed the chase. Duke Hamilton, hastening into Staffordshire, at

Uttoxeter yielded himself prisoner to the lord Grey of Groby, who with a convoy sent him to Ashby-de-la-Zouch, (of which the earl of Huntingdon is lord,) and shortly, with many other of the Scots, prisoners to London.

The Scots army being thus overcome, lieutenant-general Cromwell with his forces advanced into Scotland without opposition, hearing that Monro was with eight thousand horse and foot ready to follow duke Hamilton's army; but having notice of his defeat, he thought good to hearken to the earl of Argyle's advice, which was to forbear his march, insomuch as lieutenant-general Cromwell entered Scotland with his forces unopposed, and at Edinburgh was amicably received, and treated with all demonstrations of affection. Such are the strange effects and vicissitudes of war.

All this time Colchester held out, though straitly besieged by sir Thomas Fairfax with his army, where much gallantry and valour appeared on both sides[x]. Yet at length the besieged, being in want of powder and other provisions, and having certain intelligence of duke Hamilton's overthrow, as also hopeless of help from abroad, or a supply of what the town and garrison extremely wanted, and how unsuccessful the king's parties had been in several places, having called a council of war, it was resolved that commissioners should be named to treat with sir Thomas Fairfax upon certain articles; which being agreed, Colchester was delivered up to the parliament's general the 27th day of August 1648; sir Thomas Fairfax forthwith removing to St. Alban's, which for some time he made his head quarter.

These military proceedings happening during his majesty's confinement at Carisbrook castle, I thought pertinent to intermix with other occurrences, which otherwise should have been omitted.

Now in regard it hath been suggested by some, that the king was not ignorant of duke Hamilton's preparations, and intentions by force of arms to set his majesty at liberty and settle him in his throne; and that the king, by a letter from the queen, was acquainted therewith; which letter was intercepted, the seal violated, and the letter read by some great officers of the army, members of the commons house; who, during his majesty's being with the army (after his remove from Holmby), had upon valuable considerations of wealth and honour, undertaken, by their interest in both places, to restore the king, upon condition that he would wholly confide in them, without having recourse to other means; which his majesty consenting to, they carried on their design until they met with the queen's letter, which startled them; so as closing it very artificially, and conveying it into the king's hands, he could not perceive the letter had been intercepted or the seal broken, whereby the intelligence the queen gave might be known to any but himself; upon their discourse soon after with the king, asking him if he knew, that duke Hamilton was with a powerful army of Scots preparing to do that by force, which they had undertaken to effect by their interest with both houses of parliament and army, in no wise doubting to compass it for his happy restoration; the king not acquainting them with the contents of her majesty's letter concerning the duke's invasion, they were thenceforth distrustful of him, which totally altered their former resolution in order to his reestablishment and freedom:

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[x] See a detailed account of the siege in "Mercurius Rusticus."

This, as I said before, hath been suggested; but assuredly little credit is given to this report, especially by unbiassed persons.

For albeit some great commanders in the army, by the influence they had also in both houses, might probably upon a right prospect of peace and expectation of preferment, (a powerful magnet,) confirm the king in his belief, (credulity being rather a fault than an offence, seeing it hurts none but itself,) that they both could and would use their best endeavours to accommodate him by a speedy composure of all those differences that secluded him from exercising his regal power, (the thing aimed at, and by sober persons cordially desired;) yet it is not to be presumed that his majesty would dissemble or falsify his word and promise to depend upon them; the business being so much to his satisfaction. And it may be supposed, that his majesty might at Hampton-court (where it is pretended the letter was intercepted) have the opportunity to acquaint the queen with the fair hopes and intentions of the army, to incline the two houses to agree the differences, and remove the jealousies that occasioned this late war, and restore peace to a distracted kingdom, (which it is probable her majesty would be glad to hear, and acquiesce in the king's prudence;) so as it is unlikely the queen would hazard his restoration any other way; especially by the Scots, who, if success should smile upon them in that attempt, would in all probability have insisted upon his majesty's taking and confirming the league and covenant, which the king was averse to.

Nor had his majesty confidence in duke Hamilton, as appeared by that his presage, that if the duke would in a hostile way enter this kingdom, he was a lost person; and if such a thing should happen, he charged all such as had been of his party in the war to forbear joining with the Scots. Nor can it rationally be granted, that the queen could, at the king's residence at Hampton-court, have such quick intelligence of duke Hamilton's design; the time of this intercepted letter being near eleven months before the Committee of Danger was formed, which was previous to the duke's preparations, or any thing in order to it.

Moreover, granting there was such a letter, yet that it should be intercepted seems strange, being presumed it would be sent by a trusty person; and the court at that time being without any restraint, (none forbidden access unto the king;) also no less incredible, that her majesty's seal being broken could be so artificially closed, as the king (who was accurate in observing seals and curiosities of all sorts) should not discern the fraud. And as to the discontent those army-officers expressed by absenting themselves from court; this relater observed no such thing, but that, (as at other times,) they frequented it; so as until the king in disguise went thence, the military men did not withdraw, nor till the commissioners departed; as did all the king's servants; who, as men amazed, stood for some time gazing one upon another. For being then without a master, the diet ceased, and with sad hearts they went thence to their several homes. So that upon the whole matter it may be believed that the report concerning the letter of intelligence from the queen is fictitious; only designed to asperse the king and to blemish his integrity; which (as he himself hath declared) he highly prized. And indeed a saying of his is worthy to be writ in letters of gold: "That he could more willingly lose his "crowns than his credit; his kingdoms being less valuable to "him than his honour and reputation."

"Faith, assuredly, is the foundation upon which justice "and truth are built," saith Cicero the orator and great statesman, who (albeit the Romans of all men got most by war) hath this assertion, "That an unjust peace is preferable to "a just war." And it was a generous saying of king Henry IV. of France, our king's father-in-law: "That it was a barbarous "thing, yea, contrary to Christianity and nature, to make war "for the love of war; a Christian king never refusing peace, "if not wholly disadvantageous. For a king's honour and "justice are and ought to be like a rock of diamonds, that "remains impenetrable." It was an excellent and memorable expression of the king, such time as he signed the Petition of Right, that he did it with a good heart. "For," saith he, "prerogative is to defend the subject's liberty and freedom, seeing their freedom strengthens the king's prerogative." Thus much I have thought fit to say, to wipe off that aspersion of double-dealing, and to vindicate injured innocence.

Return we now to the Isle of Wight.

I formerly hinted, that during the time that Dr. Sheldon (afterwards archbishop of Canterbury) and Dr. Hammond, his majesty's chaplains in ordinary, were permitted to wait at Carisbrook castle, they performed the service afore the king; howbeit their stay was but short, the governor giving them unexpectedly a dismiss; so as the king thenceforth was chaplain to himself, not thinking fit to accept any minister of the presbytery, albeit he returned them thanks and was civil to them.

Amongst others of that judgment, conforming to the Directory, was one Mr. Troughton, a young man, and I think a graduate in one of our universities; who during his majesty's confinement in Carisbrook castle, was chaplain to the governor, and preacher to the officers and soldiers in that garrison[y]. He seldom failed to be in the presence-chamber when the king dined, delighting to see the king, and though he was but young, yet was he a student, and could argue pretty well in defence of some tenets he held, in opposition to some ceremonies he had seen practised in churches, and discipline in the episcopacy. The king usually after meals would walk for near an hour and take many turns in the presence-chamber, and pleasurably enter into disputation with Mr. Troughton, who was very earnest in maintaining his arguments; and the king never discouraged him, but being the better logician, had the advantage, and being better read in history and controversial points, gained ground of his opponent. The king always parted merrily, and was very pleasant; but one time, during their discourse, this young disputant standing at one end of the room, between a lieutenant of foot (who had his sword in his hand, and was earnestly hearkening to their debate) and a gentleman that was not known to many there; the king in the heat of his discourse, took the officer's sword out of his hand so unexpectedly, as made the officer look strangely; and then drawing it, affrighted the disputant, (he not imagining the reason,) until the gentleman better understanding the meaning, fell presently upon his knee, and his majesty laying the sword upon his shoulder, conferred upon him the honour of knighthood, telling him, it was to perform a promise to his relations. That young gentleman[z] is since advanced to greater honour and office under our sovereign.

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[x] "As for this chaplain Troughton, "though Thomas Herbert, then one "of the grooms of his majesty's bed- "chamber, from whom I had this "story [i.e. the story in the text,] "could not tell me his Christian "name, yet I take it to be William, "and the same William Troughton, "who afterwards was beneficed in "Salisbury, in the time of Oliver; "silenced for Nonconformity after "his majesty's restoration; lived "there several years after keeping "his conventicles, as he did after- "wards at Bristol, and now is living "in or near London." Wood's Athen. ii. 688. He is mentioned also in Ludlow's Memoirs.

[y] Sir John Duncomb, of Bettlesdon in Buckinghamshire, afterwards servant to king Charles II., sworn of the privy council, May 22, 1667, being at that time one of the commissioners of the treasury, and in 1672 chancellor of the exchequer, on the resignation of sir Anthony Ashley Cooper. Wood's Athen. ii. 688.

From Carisbrook castle his majesty sent some proposals to the parliament, who returned four preliminary articles, which the Scotch commissioners disrelished, and the king disliked as improper to precede a treaty; which occasioned a stricter guard, and that vote of making no further address; which nevertheless was soon after repealed. And about the middle of August 1648, the earl of Middlesex[u] was sent by the house of lords, and sir John Hippesley and Mr. John Bulkeley from the house of commons, to present the king with the votes of both houses of parliament, for a personal treaty with his majesty, upon the propositions tendered at Hampton-court, and a committee of lords and commons, at such time as his majesty should think fit to appoint, and to be with honour and safety to his royal person.

The king, in the first place, gave them his hand to kiss, and then told them, that their address being in order to peace doubled their welcome, peace being the thing he earnestly desired; assuring them withal, that if upon the treaty peace did not ensue, it should be no fault of his, he would not be blamed.

In order thereto, his majesty was pleased to write back unto his parliament, signifying the receipt of their late votes; declaring withal that he would treat with such of their members as they should think fit to nominate and appoint to meet at Newport in the Isle of Wight; engaging withal his royal word, that he would not depart out of the island during the treaty, which was limited to six weeks time, nor in three weeks after.

Pursuant whereto, several lords and members of the house of commons, namely, the earls of Northumberland, Pembroke, Salisbury, and Middlesex, viscount Say and Seal, the lord Wainman, Mr. Pierpoint, Mr. Hollis, Mr. Crew, sir Henry Vane, jun., sir Harbottle Grimstone, sir John Potts, serjeant Glynne, serjeant Browne, Mr. Bulkeley, with some others, were appointed by the two houses of parliament to repair forthwith to Newport, and treat with his majesty upon certain propositions.

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[u] Lionel Cranfield. See Col. Hammond's Letter to him, in Cary's Memorials, ii. p. 1.

His majesty, as soon as he was advertised that the commissioners were on their way, removed from Carisbrook (which was to him a place of cares) to a gentleman's house in Newport, which was accommodated to his business so well as that small place would afford, albeit disproportionate and of small receipt for a court. The king's old servants having then liberty to attend, several lords and gentlemen of the bedchamber, namely, the duke of Richmond, the marquis of Hertford, the earls of Southampton and Lindsey, lord high chamberlain, with others of the nobility, likewise repaired thither, as also the grooms of the bedchamber, pages of the backstairs, and other servants that had offices; all which were permitted their attendance. Several of the king's chaplains came thither also; viz. Dr. Hammond, Dr. Sheldon, Dr. Juxon, Dr. Holdsworth, Dr. Sanderson, Dr. Turner, as also sir Thomas Gardiner, sir Orlando Bridgman, Mr. Holborn, Mr. Palmer and Vaughan, &c., and with the commissioners came Mr. Marshall, Mr. John Caryl, Mr. Richard Vines, and Mr. Seaman. Mr. Nye was there also, and some others, who as occasion required preached before the commissioners; and albeit the king would not accept of them amongst his chaplains either praying or preaching, his majesty was nevertheless affable to them, and said they were welcome, always desiring (as he has published) those pious assistances, which holy and good ministers, either prelates or presbyters, could afford him; especially in those extremities which God had pleased to permit some of his subjects to reduce him to.

Great rejoicing there was on all hands for this convention, and fair hopes appeared that God would vouchsafe to give his blessing to it.

The court being thus settled, and the most convenient house Newport could afford prepared; (the town indeed is large, and of many streets, but the building none of the best, yet gave sufficient accommodation to that great concourse of men, as also to some foot-companies that were quartered there); the king, so soon as the lords and gentlemen that came from the two houses of parliament had kissed his majesty's hand, and reposed a little while after their land and sea travel, met them at the appointed place; where being set, the king under a state at the end of the room, and the parliament commissioners at some distance on either side the board (several lords and the king's chaplains, viz. Dr. Sheldon, Dr. Holdsworth, Dr. Hammond, Dr. Sanderson, Dr. Turner, and the bishop of London, as also Dr. Morley[z], standing behind the king's chair); he forthwith entered to treat with them upon their proposals, and a fair progress was made therein by his majesty's ready condescension, especially in what related to civil affairs; wherein the commissioners were, pursuant to their instructions, principally concerned. His majesty had also some conferences with the Assembly divines, Mr. Marshall, and the other three lately named; in which was controverted some different judgments referring to the ingenuous and true sense the primitive fathers had of bishop and presbyter, how understood as to their administrations; for as to the office of deacons, that was agreed by both, but in the other their opinions differed. However, in these debates there were no heats on either side, but managed with great sobriety and moderation[a]. And in all this treaty his majesty was observed in the whole transaction, both with the commissioners and divines, to keep a constant decorum, with great prudence, cautiousness, and good order. And albeit he was single, and obliged to answer what the commissioners (who were many) had in proposition or objection, his majesty's answers were pertinent, and delivered without any perturbation or show of discomposure; albeit he had to do with persons, as of high civility and observance to the king, so of great parts and understanding in the law and affairs of state; and both for their ingenuity and fair carriage much commended by the king, as occasion afterwards offered.

The propositions sent from the two houses of parliament to treat upon with the king, were eleven in number.

The first was: That the king should forthwith call in all such proclamations and declarations as his majesty had at any time, during the late war, issued against the proceedings of the two houses of parliament; to which the king agreed, provided, that neither this concession, nor any other of his upon this treaty, should be of any force, unless the whole were agreed.

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[z] The friend of Isaac Walton; to whom, being bishop of Winchester, Walton dedicated his "Lives."

[a] An account of this conference was afterwards published.

The second was concerning the settlement of the church. As to his confirming the Assembly of Divines sitting in the abbey of Westminster, and to a settling of the Directory, and establishing of the presbyterian government for three years, (reserving, nevertheless, to himself and his party a liberty to use the old form,) his majesty agreed. But as to the abolishing episcopacy and that hierarchy, or to the alienating the church lands, or any part thereof, his majesty would by no means give his assent.

To the third proposal; his majesty was willing to permit the parliament to have the militia in their hands for twenty years.

To the fourth; for nulling the cessation in Ireland, and leaving for some time the government both civil and military in the hands of his two houses of parliament; the king agreed.

To the fifth and sixth proposals; for vacating titles of honour conferred since his majesty's great seal was carried from London to Oxford, and for payment of public debts; the king gave his assent.

To the seventh; that delinquents (that is, that those of his party) should submit unto a fine, and be prohibited access unto the court, as also unto the council without the parliament's consent; and likewise, that for three years they should be disabled and debarred from sitting in either house of parliament without their consent; and also undergo a legal trial, if the two houses of parliament thought fit, and to suffer according to merit, if convicted by due course of law—thus far his majesty was willing to agree. But as to the charging them, or any of them, with treason; or as to the taking away their or any of their lives or estates, for acting things by his commission during the late war, in a military way, or any other (save such as after a legal proceeding should be found guilty of breaking the established laws of the land); the king positively refused to give his assent.

To the eighth proposal his majesty agreed: That the parliament should have power to confer all offices in his kingdom, and likewise constitute magistrates for twenty years.

To the ninth; for his confirming their new broad seal with all grants and commissions passed under the same; the king agreed.

To the tenth proposal; that all charters, grants, privileges, and immunities, with power to dispose of the Tower of London, be ratified; the militia there confirmed; and the citizens of London exempted from military duty and service out of their liberties, unless ordered by the two houses of parliament; the king agreed.

To the eleventh; that the court of wards should be abolished, his majesty having yearly one hundred thousand pounds paid him in composition or compensation thereof; his majesty agreed.

This is a breviate of them.

The treaty having this fair aspect, it was the judgment as well as wishes of all such as were lovers of peace, that king and parliament would now unite; and the rather, for that the lords, upon the report made unto them by their commissioners in this negociation, voted that what the king had condescended to seemed to them satisfactory; and in the commons' house after a long and sharp debate, it was carried by a majority of voices, that his majesty's answers and concessions were a ground sufficient and satisfactory for the parliament to proceed upon, in order to a settlement of the kingdom's peace.

These resolves made most men likewise verily believe there would be a happy union and agreement between his majesty and the parliament; and that these long and sharp contests in civil war (if it may properly be so called, where families are sadly divided, and estates unnaturally destroyed) would now be wound up in a peaceful conclusion.

But, as his majesty well observed, jealousies are not so easily allayed as raised. For albeit his heart (he said) inclined sincerely to whatsoever might advance piety and peace amongst his people; yet the crying sins of this nation, as the sequel manifested, had so heightened God's indignation, as those good hopes and expectations were suddenly blasted. Peace, upon that score, being by some unquiet spirits, then in power, judged unsafe and inconvenient; so as the object, be it never so beautiful, if it do but thwart their design, shall be looked upon as deformed. And his majesty has this expression upon record: "God knows, and time will certainly dis-"cover, who are most to blame for the unsuccessfulness of "that treaty, the product of many succeeding calamities."

His majesty was vehemently persuaded by some to leave the island for his more safety, the times having an ill aspect towards him; but no arguments could prevail with him to violate his parole, as formerly hinted.

Now, in regard there are sundry relations published of the matters that ensued; as also of the force that was soon after put upon the house of commons by some officers of the army, and whence influenced; as also of their garrisoning Whitehall with two foot regiments, and upon what design; [all this] is needless to be repeated here; the scope of this relation being only to give the occurrents of such court passages as this relater was an eyewitness to, and in reference to his observation of the sad and direful effects following.

While matters hung thus in suspense, the king nevertheless seemed confident, that for as much as his concessions were voted satisfactory to the majority of both houses of parliament, the conclusion would be answerable, as to a firm and lasting peace. But, alas! in opposition thereto, lieutenant-colonel Cobbet, an officer in colonel Fortescue's regiment, (Joyce like) came unexpectedly to Newport, with a commanded party of horse, and in the first place made inquiry for colonel Hammond's quarters in the town; having order to secure him, the reason unknown, unless from an apprehension the despotic agitators had, that he was too much a courtier, which they approved not of. Howbeit, being premonished, he evaded him, though very narrowly. But in this conjecture they were mistaken; for albeit his constant walking and discoursing with the king, whensoever his majesty for refreshment walked about the works at Carisbrook, (there being none so fit nor forward as he, being governor,) gave him the opportunity to ingratiate himself into his majesty's favour, and made the army officers jealous of him, (being solely intrusted with the person of the king); nevertheless he forfeited the king's good opinion, by that uncomely act of looking into his scrutoire to search for some supposed papers of intelligence from the queen, and correspondency with others; wherein he missed his aim. Mr. Harrington and Mr. Herbert were then in the green waiting on the king, who finding the weather somewhat cold, the king bid Mr. Herbert go for his cloak; and he entering the bedchamber, found the governor ready to come forth, with one other officer in company, and Mr. Reading, who then waited as page of the backstairs, and by insinuation had let him in. Mr. Herbert, as he was returning to the green with his majesty's cloak, gave the page a sharp rebuke; which the governor being acquainted with threatened Mr. Herbert to give him a dismiss for censuring that act of his; and without doubt had had him expelled the castle, if his majesty, of his goodness, had not passed it by, without either reproaching the governor or taking notice thereof. These, with some other aggravations, made the king design an escape; horses being provided and laid near the castle, and a vessel made ready for his transportation; but by a corrupted corporal in the garrison, this took not effect. And a Providence was therein, his person being hazarded if he had made the attempt; and for which an officer had his trial afterwards by due course of law, upon a charge of high treason, as the history of those times mentions.

But to return. Lieutenant-colonel Cobbet, failing of his first design of apprehending colonel Hammond, made a higher flight in the next place, making an abrupt address unto the king, letting him know that he had orders to remove him forthwith from Newport. The king beheld the lieutenant-colonel with astonishment, and interrogated him whether his order was to remand him back to his prison at Carisbrook. The lieutenant said, "No." "Whither then?" said the king. "Out "of the Isle of Wight," replied the colonel; but the place he was to remove the king unto, he was not to communicate. "I "pray sir, by your favour," said the king, "let me see your "orders." As to that, the lieutenant-colonel desired to be excused. "This business," said he, "is of no ordinary concern-"ment, so as I may not satisfy any man's inquiry until a fitter "season." Now was verified his majesty's maxim, "that such "as will assume the boldness to adventure upon a king must "not be thought over modest or timorous to carry on his "design." His majesty, being thus denied a sight, demanded, if his orders or instructions were from parliament, or the general of their army. His answer was; "he had them from neither, "neither from any else." "It may be so," said the king, "seeing you are afraid to shew them." But that he had orders, or secret instructions for this bold act, is not to be doubted; for though there was but one general, yet things were at that time so much out of frame, both in the commons' house and army, as there were many commanders[b].

The duke of Richmond, the lord high chamberlain, the lord marquis of Hertford, with others of the nobility, several venerable persons, and many of the king's household servants at that time attending, were in a manner confounded at this surprise and unexpected accident; yea, not a little affrighted with ideas and apprehensions of danger to his majesty's person; and the more, for that the lieutenant-colonel refused to satisfy any, to what place he would go, or what he intended to do with the king, other than that no harm or violence should be offered him.

The lieutenant-colonel pressed the king to take coach; the coach accordingly was made ready, and brought to the door where the king lodged.

Never, at one time, it is thought, was beheld more grief in men's faces, or greater fears in their hearts; the king being at such a time, and in such a manner hurried away they knew not whither. But no remedy appearing, the noblemen, the venerable persons, and other his majesty's servants, approached to kiss the king's hand, and to pour forth their supplications to Almighty God to safeguard and comfort his majesty in that his disconsolate condition.

His majesty, who at other times was cheerful, at his parting from his friends shewed sorrow in his heart by the sadness of his countenance; a real sympathy.

The king now ready to take coach, asked the lieutenant-colonel, whether he was to have any servants with him? "Only such," said he, "as are most useful." The king then nominated Mr. Harrington and Mr. Herbert to attend in his bedchamber, and scarce a dozen more for other service. The king taking notice that Mr. Herbert had for three days absented himself, Mr. Harrington told his majesty he was sick of an ague. He then desired the duke of Richmond to send one of his servants to see in what condition he then was, and if any thing well, to come along with him. The gentleman the duke sent found him sweating; but so soon as he received the message, he arose, and came speedily to his majesty, who soon took coach, and commanded Mr. Harrington, Mr. Herbert, and Mr. Mildmay, his carver, to come into his coach; and the lieutenant-colonel offering to enter the coach uninvited, his majesty, by opposing his foot, made him sensible of his rudeness, so as with some shame he mounted his horse, and followed with a guard of horse, the coachman driving as he directed.

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[b] Sanderson says that this seizure of the king's person was in conformity with a special order under the general's hand and seal, dated, Nov. 30. Reign of King Charles, 1103.

The king in this passage shewed no discomposure at all, but would be asking the gentlemen in the coach with him, whither they thought he was travelling. They made some simple replies, such as served to make his majesty smile at their innocent conjectures. Otherwhile he would comfort himself with what he had granted at his late treaty with the commissioners, whom he highly praised for their ingenuity and fair deportment at Newport, as formerly mentioned.

The coach by the lieutenant-colonel's directions went westwards towards Worsley tower in Freshwater Isle, a little beyond Yarmouth haven; thereabout his majesty rested, until the vessel was ready to take him aboard, with those few his attendants. The king, after an hour's stay, went aboard; a sorrowful spectacle, and great example of fortune's inconstancy. The wind and tide favouring, they crossed that narrow sea in three hours, and landed at Hurst castle, or block-house rather, erected by order of king Henry VIII., upon a spot of earth a good way into the sea, and joined to the firm land by a narrow neck of sand which is covered over with small loose stones and pebbles, and upon both sides the sea beats, so as at spring tides and stormy weather the land-passage is formidable and hazardous. The castle has very thick stone walls, and the platforms are regular, and both have several culverins and sakers mounted, which if their shot doth not reach such ships as pass that narrow strait that is much frequented, they threaten them. Nevertheless a dismal receptacle or place for so great a monarch, the greatest part of whose life and reign had been prosperous and full of earthly glory. But by his example we are taught, that greatest persons many times meet with adverse changes, and are forced to bow under the strokes of misfortune; yea, in their highest exaltation are the usual marks at which the instruments of envy and malice are levelled: so as we see plainly, there is no state of man's life so happy as hath not some cross, evidencing the uncertainty of worldly enjoyments, and that real comforts are elsewhere to be expected.

The captain of this wretched place was not unsuitable; for at the king's going ashore, he stood ready to receive him, with small observance. His look was stern, his hair and large beard were black and bushy; he held a partisan in his hand, and Switz-like had a great basket-hilt sword by his side. Hardly could one see a man of a more grim aspect, and no less robust and rude was his behaviour. Some of his majesty's servants were not a little fearful of him, and that he was designed for mischief; especially when he vapoured, being elevated with his command, and puffed up by having so royal a prisoner. So as probably he conceived he was nothing inferior to the governor of the castle at Milan; but being complained of to his superior officer he appeared a bubble. For being pretty sharply admonished, he quickly became mild and calm, a posture ill-becoming such a rhodomont, and made it visible that this humour, or tumour rather, was acted to curry favour. Wherein also he was mistaken: for to give the lieutenant-colonel his due, after his majesty came under his custody, he was very civil to the king, both in his language and behaviour, and courteous to those that attended upon all occasions. Nor was his disposition rugged toward such as in loyalty and love came to see the king, and to pray for him; as sundry out of Hampshire did, and the neighbouring counties.

His majesty (as it may well be granted) was very slenderly accommodated at this place. The room he usually eat in was neither large nor lightsome; at noonday, in that winter season, requiring candles; and at night he had his wax lamp set as formerly in a silver bason, which illuminated his bedchamber. This sad condition makes me call to mind a relation you once imparted to me well worth the remembrance; that the late earl of Lindsey, being one of the gentlemen of his majesty's bedchamber, one night lying on a pallet by the king's bedside (not long before his leaving Oxford, and going thence to the Scots); at the foot thereof (as was usual every night) was placed a lamp, or round cake of wax in a silver bason set upon a stool. The earl awaking in the night, observed the room to be perfectly dark, and thereupon raising himself up, looked towards the lamp, and concluded that it might be extinguished by some water got into the bason by some creek; but not hearing the king stir, he forbore rising or to call upon those that lay in the next chamber to bring in another light, fearing to disturb the king's rest; and about an hour after he fell asleep again, and awakened not till morning. But when he did awake, he discerned the lamp bright burning, which so astonished him, that taking the boldness to call to the king (whom he heard by his stirring to be awake) he told him what he had observed. Whereupon the king replied, that he himself awaking also in the night, took notice that all was dark; and to be fully satisfied, he put by the curtain to look at the lamp; but some time after he found it light, and concluded the earl was risen, and had set it upon the bason lighted again. The earl assured his majesty he did not. The king then said, he did consider it as a prognostic of God's future favour and mercy towards him or his; that although he was at that time so eclipsed, yet either he or they might shine out bright again. To return.

In this ecliptic condition was the king (the place and military persons duly considered) sequestered, in a manner, from the comfort earth and air affords; and in some sort from the society of men; the earth confining his majesty to that promontory or gravel-walk overspread with loose stones a good depth, which rendered it very uneasy and offensive to his feet. But he endured it with his accustomed patience and serenity of spirit, and with more alacrity than they that followed him.

The air was equally noxious, by reason of the marish grounds that were about, and the unwholesome vapours arising from the sargassos and weeds [which] the salt water constantly at tides and storms casts upon the shore, and by the fogs that those marine places are most subject to; so as the dwellers thereabouts find by experience how that the air is insalubrious, and disposing to diseases, especially aguish distempers. Nevertheless, in this dolorous place the king was content to walk above two miles in length, but a few paces in breadth; the governor one time, captain Reynolds at another, discoursing, and Mr. Harrington or Mr. Herbert, by his majesty's order, and their duty, ever attending him. That which made some amends, was a fair and uninterrupted prospect a good way into the sea, a view into the Isle of Wight one way, and main land the other, with the sight of ships of all sizes daily under sail, with which his majesty was much delighted.

During his majesty's confinement at Hurst castle, it so happened, that Mr. Harrington, being one morning in company with the governor and some other officers of the army, he fell into some discourse with them concerning the late treaty at Newport; wherein he magnified the king's wisdom in his arguments with the commissioners upon the propositions, and satisfaction the parliament had in his concessions, and probability of a happy event, if this force in removing him had not intervened and made an unhappy fracture, which created parties; enlarging upon his majesty's learned disputes with Mr. Vines, and the other presbyterian divines; with such moderation as gained applause from all those that heard them argue. Which discourse, how inoffensive soever, and without exception at any other time and place, it appears that truth is not at all times seasonable nor safe to be spoken, as by Mr. Harrington's example was evidenced. For those captious persons with whom he held discourse, being full of jealousies, and apt to wrest his words to the worst sense, withdrew a little, and at their return told him plainly, they were dissatisfied with what he had said. He prayed them to instance wherein. They replied, in all particulars; which, when he began to repeat for his own justification and their better understanding, they interrupted him, and told him in plain terms, they could not suffer his attendance any longer about the king. Which proceeding and dismiss, without acquainting him with the occasion, was ill resented by the king, who had Mr. Harrington in his good esteem, being a gentleman qualified with special parts, and having found him trusty, his service was the more acceptable; but blamed him nevertheless for not being more wary amongst men, that at such a time were full of jealousies, and very little obliging to his majesty.

There was none now left to wait upon the king in his bedchamber but Mr. Herbert, and he in *motu trepidationis*, who, nevertheless held out, by his careful observing his majesty's instructions, without which (as the times then were) it had been impossible for him to have kept his station.

His majesty being thus reduced to this deplorable condition, he could not choose but have some melancholy apprehensions, and accordingly about midnight there was an unusual noise, that awakened the king out of his sleep, and he was in some marvel to hear the drawbridge let down at that unseasonable hour, and some horsemen enter, who being alighted, the rest of that night was in deep silence. The king being desirous to know the matter, he before break of day rung his silver bell, which, with both his watches, were usually laid upon a stool near the wax lamp, that was set near them in a large silver bason; upon which call, Mr. Herbert opened the bedchamber door, to know his majesty's pleasure. The king told him, he would rise; and as he was making ready, he asked him, if he heard the noise that was about midnight; Mr. Herbert answered, he did, as also the falling of the drawbridge; but being shut up in the back-stair room, next the bedchamber, and the door by the governor's order being bolted without, he neither could nor would, without his majesty's order, adventure out at such a time of night. The king then bade him go and learn what the matter was. And accordingly Mr. Herbert went, and knocking at the back-stair door, the soldiers unbolted it without, and he within, and entering into the next room he happily found captain Reynolds there alone by a fire; and after some discourse, he inquired of the captain, who they were that came so very late into the castle, and their errand. The captain, in a joking way, bade him be wary in carrying news to the king, he was amongst suspicious superintendants, and his comrade served for his example. Mr. Herbert thanked him for his friendly caution, and at length got out of him who the commander was that came so late into the castle, but would not discover what his business was.

Mr. Herbert, speedily returning to his majesty, told him it was major Harrison that came so late into the castle. "Are "you sure it was major Harrison?" said the king. "May it "please your majesty," said Mr. Herbert, "captain Reynolds "told me so." "Then I believe it," said the king; "but did "you see major Harrison?" "No, sir," said Mr. Herbert. "Would not captain Reynolds," saith the king, "tell you "what the major's business is?" Mr. Herbert replied, he did what he could to be informed, but all he could then learn from the captain was, "the occasion of Harrison's coming "would be known speedily." The king said no more, but bade him attend in the next room, and went to prayer. In less than an hour the king opened the bedchamber door, and beckoned to Mr. Herbert to come in and make him ready. Mr. Herbert was in some consternation to see his majesty so much discomposed, and wept; which the king observing, asked him the meaning of it. Mr. Herbert replied, "Because "I perceive your majesty so much troubled and concerned at "the news I brought." "I am not afraid," said the king, "but do not you know that this is the man who intended "to assassinate me, as by letter I was informed, during the "late treaty. To my knowledge I never saw the major, "though I have heard oft of him, nor ever did him injury. "The commissioners, indeed, hearing of it, represented it "from Newport to the house of lords; what satisfaction he "gave them I cannot tell; this I can, that I trust in God, "who is my helper; I would not be surprised; this is a place "fit for such a purpose. Herbert, I trust to your care; go "again, and make further inquiry into his business." Mr. Herbert immediately went out, and finding an opportunity to speak in private with captain Reynolds, (who being a gentleman well educated, and at all essays expressed civility towards the king, with whom he most times walked on the stony ground, formerly mentioned, and was courteous to his servants,) he told him, that the major's business was to remove the king thence to Windsor castle within three days at farthest. Mr. Herbert believing that the king would be well pleased with the exchange, by leaving the worst to enjoy the best castle in England, returned to his majesty with a mirthful countenance, little imagining (God knows) the sad consequence. And so soon as the king heard Windsor named, he seemed to rejoice at it.

Major Harrison stayed two nights at Hurst; and when it was dark, having given orders for the king's removal, he returned from whence he came, without seeing the king, or speaking with any that attended his majesty.

Two days after, lieutenant-colonel Cobbit came and acquainted his majesty with the orders he had received for his remove thence to Windsor castle forthwith. The king told him, he was more kind now than he was at Newport, when he would not gratify him or any other with the knowledge of the place he was to go to. Windsor was a place he ever delighted in, and would make amends for what at Hurst he had suffered.

All things being in short time made ready, he bade solitary Hurst adieu; and having passed the narrow passage (which reaches well nigh from Hurst to Milford, three long miles) there appeared a party of horse belonging to that army, and had then their winter-quarter at Lyndhurst, and were ordered to convoy the king to Winchester. But going first to Ringwood, then through the New Forest to Romsey, (where is a fair church, being the remains of a dissolved nunnery, founded by great king Edgar, about the year of our Lord 970,) they went from thence to the city of Winchester, which was heretofore the royal seat of the West Saxon kings; the bones of many of them being shrined in little gilded coffers by bishop Fox, and placed upon the top of some walls within the choir of the cathedral, first built by Coinwalch a West Saxon king, upon the subversion of a monastery of monks, which during the Roman empire flourished; but that decaying, it was with greater magnificence reedified by succeeding bishops, since the conquest, and all the west part, by bishop Wickham, from the choir. And amongst other famous prelates here born, were St. Swithin, bishop of this see, anno Domini 840;

and William (the son of Herbert, who was lord chamberlain to king Henry I.) made archbishop of York by king Stephen, anno Domini 1145, and canonized in the year of our Lord 1226 by Honorius the pope.

At the king's entrance into Winchester, the mayor and aldermen of the city (notwithstanding the times) received the king with dutiful respect, and the clergy did the like; yea, during his short stay there, the gentry, and others of inferior rank, flocked thither in great numbers to welcome his majesty; some out of curiosity to see, others out of zeal to pray for his enlargement and happiness; with which the king was much satisfied, and was pleased to many of them to give his hand to kiss. Thence his majesty rode to Alton, and then to Alresford; the inhabitants round about making haste to see his majesty pass by, and with joyful acclamations accompanying him, likewise with prayers for his preservation, a sure evidence of affection. From Alresford the king passed to Farnham, betwixt which two towns (being about seven miles asunder) another troop of horse was in good order drawn up, by which his majesty passed. It was to bring up the rear. In the head of it was the captain gallantly mounted and armed; a velvet monteir was on his head, a new buff coat upon his back, and a crimson silk scarf about his waist richly fringed; who as the king passed by with an easy pace (as delighted to see men well horsed and armed) the captain gave the king a bow with his head all *a-soldade*, which his majesty requited. This was the first time the king saw that captain.

Mr. Herbert riding a little behind, the king, who made no use of his coach since he came from Hurst castle, called him to come near, and asked him who the captain was; and being told it was major Harrison, the king viewed him more narrowly, and fixed his eyes so steadily upon him as made the major abashed, and fall back to his troop sooner than probably he intended. The king said, he looked like a soldier, and that his aspect was good, and found him not such a one as was represented; and that having some judgment in faces, if he had observed him so well before, he should not have harboured that ill opinion of him; for ofttimes the spirit and disposition may be discerned by the countenance. Yet in that one may be deceived.

That night the king got to Farnham, where he lodged in a private gentleman's house in the town. The castle is upon the ascent, and belongs to the bishop of Winchester; but being then a garrison, was no fit place for the king's accommodation; nor was the bishop there, or at that time in a condition to pay his observance (as in duty he otherwise would) unto his majesty.

A little before supper his majesty standing by the fire in a large parlour wainscoted, and in discourse with the mistress of the house; the king (albeit the room was pretty full of army officers, and country people that crowded in to have a sight of the king) nevertheless discovered major Harrison at the far end of the room talking with another officer. The king beckoned to him with his hand to come nearer him, which he did with due reverence. The king then taking him by his arm, drew him aside towards the window, where for half an hour or more they discoursed together; and amongst other things, the king minded him of the information concerning him, which, if true, rendered him an enemy in the worst sense to his person. To which the major in his vindication assured his majesty, that what was so reported of him was not true; what he had said, he might repeat, "that the law was equally obliging to great "and small, and that justice had no respect to persons," or words to that purpose[c]; which his majesty finding affectedly spoken, and to no good end, he left off further communication with him, and went to supper; being all the time very pleasant, which was no small rejoicing to many there; to see him so cheerful in that company, and such a condition.

Next day the king rode from Farnham to Bagshot, where, at the lord Newburgh's house, he dined; and so through part of the forest to Windsor castle; his usual bedchamber in the palace, towards the far end of the castle ward being prepared for him.

Colonel Whitchcot was at that time governor of the castle, which was then garrisoned with some foot companies. Here the king seemed to take more delight than at any place he had been since his leaving Hampton-court. Here he had the liberty to walk where and when he pleased within the castle, and in the long terrace without, that looks towards the fair college of Eton. This terrace is of great length, upon the north side of that most magnificent structure. It was begun by queen Elizabeth, and enlarged by succeeding princes; and albeit you have a larger prospect from the keep, yet from the terrace you have also a delightful view of the river of Thames, of many pleasant hills and valleys, villages and fair houses, far and near; so as no place in this kingdom may compare with it, save the little castle or lodge in Greenwich-park, which has the sight of the great and noble city of London, river of Thames, and ships of great burthen daily under sail passing to and fro; with other things enumerated by Barclay in his "*Argenis.*" The greatest part of the forenoon the king spent in prayer and other exercises of piety; part of the afternoon he set apart for health, by recreating himself in walking, and usually in the long terrace. The governor here, as in other places (after the commissioners were gone) being for the most part in his company, for want of others to discourse with. None of the nobility, and few of the gentry, were suffered to come into the castle to see the king; save upon the Sundays to sermon in St. George's chapel, where the chaplain to the governor and garrison preached. Colonel Whitchcot behaved himself nevertheless very civilly towards the king, and his observance was taken notice of by his majesty; as also the soldiers there, who, in their places, gave no offence either in language or behaviour to the king, or any that served him.

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[c] He professed the same principles when he came to the scaffold.

Whilst his majesty stayed at Windsor, little passed worth the taking notice of; notwithstanding, something may be remembered. One night, as the king was preparing to go to bed, as his custom was, he wound up both his watches, one being gold, the other silver, he missed his diamond seal, a table that had the king's arms cut with great curiosity, and fixed to the watch; matter and work were both of considerable value. The seal was set in a collet of gold, fastened to a gold chain. His majesty could not imagine either when or where it dropt out; but thought he had it the day before when he looked upon his watch, as he walked in the long terrace; which being the most probable place to find it in, he bade Mr. Herbert look there the next morning; which, so soon as the king was ready, and had given him his George and Garter, (which his majesty never failed to wear,) the king went to his devotion, and his servant to search for the diamond, and for near an hour's space walked upon the terrace, casting his eye every where, but could not find it. Some officers of the garrison were then upon the terrace, who observed how intent he was; so as they imagined he had lost something, and were inquisitive to know what it was; but he, apprehending the danger in telling them, and hazard it would run if they should find it, let them know nothing concerning it. He in like manner sought in the presence, privy-chamber, galleries, St. George's hall, and every room the king had been in, but all to no purpose. So as with an anxious look he returned with this account, that he had diligently searched every where in likely places, and could not find it, and to acquaint any other he durst not (in regard his majesty's arms were engraven in it) unless his majesty had so directed. The king perceiving Mr. Herbert troubled at this accident, bid him not vex himself about it.

Next night, a little before his majesty went to bed, a good charcoal fire being in the chamber, and wax-lights burning, the king cast his eye to one end of the room, and saw something sparkle, and pointing with his finger, bade Mr. Herbert take a candle and see what it was; by good providence it was the diamond, which he took up, and found his majesty's arms in it, and with joy brought it to the king. Another night his majesty appointed Mr. Herbert to come to his bedchamber an hour sooner than usual in the morning; but it so happened that he overslept his time, and awakened not until the king's silver bell hastened him in. "Herbert," said the king, "you "have not observed the command I gave last night." He acknowledged his fault. "Well," said the king, "I will or-"der you for the future; you shall have a gold alarm-watch, "which, as there may be cause, shall awake you; write to "the earl of Pembroke to send me such a one presently." The earl immediately sent to Mr. East, his watchmaker in

Fleet street, about it; of which more will be said at his majesty's coming to St. James's.

Another accident happened about this time, which might have proved of ill consequence, if God in mercy had not prevented it. Mr. Herbert lodged in a little back room near the bedchamber, towards Eton-college; it had a back-stair, but was at this time rammed up with earth, to prevent any passage that way. In this room he had a pallat, which (for the weather was very sharp) he laid somewhat too near the chimney, and there were two baskets filled with charcoal, for the use of his majesty's bedchamber. And being asleep in bed, a basket took fire, either from some spark of the charcoal on the hearth, or some other way he knew not of; but the room was soon hot, and the fire got to the pallat-bed, which quickly roused Mr. Herbert out of sleep, who in amazement ran to the king's chamber-door, and in a frightful manner, with that noise, awakened the king. Those in the anti-chamber without, being soldiers, hearing the king's chamber was on fire, desired entrance, (for the door was bolted within, as the king ordered,) pretending that they might help to quench it; but through the goodness of God, without other assistance, those within suppressed it by stifling it with clothes, and confining it to the chimney, which was spacious. Mr. Herbert humbly begged his majesty's pardon for the disturbance he gave, not knowing how to help it. The king said, he did but his duty.

Soon after this, the governor acquainted his majesty, he understood how that within a few days he was to be removed thence to Whitehall. To this his majesty made little reply; seeming nothing so delighted with this his remove, as he was with the former; but turning him about, said, "God is every "where alike in wisdom, power, and goodness."

Some information he had, how preposterously things went in both houses of parliament, wherein he was concerned; and how that the army-officers had then published a remonstrance, designing thereby an alteration of the government, and trial of his person by some way that was extraordinary and unprecedented; so that immediately he retired into his bedchamber, and was a good while private in his addresses to God, ever having recourse to him by prayer and meditation, in what condition soever he was, as being the surest way to find comfort.

The day prefixed being come, he took coach near the keep, (a high mount, on which is a tower built in the middle ward betwixt the two great courts within the castle,) a guard being made all along of muskets and pikes; both officers and soldiers expressing civility as he passed by. And at the great gate a party of horse, commanded by major Harrison, were drawn up in the market-place and Peasecod-street end, who followed the coach, which passed through Brentford, Hammersmith, and the direct way to his majesty's house at St. James's, where his chamber was furnished by Mr. Kinnersly, his servant, strict guards placed, and none suffered to attend in his majesty's bedchamber save Mr. Herbert. Nevertheless, his usual diet was kept up, and the gentlemen that formerly waited were permitted to perform their respective services in the presence, where a state was placed, and for a few days all things with decency and honour observed. Sir Fulke Grevile being cupbearer, gave it upon his knee; Mr. Mildmay was carver; captain Preston sometimes sewer, and kept the robes; Mr. Ansty gentleman usher; captain Burroughs, Mr. Firebrace, Mr. Muschamp had their places: captain Joyner was cook; Mr. Babington barber; Mr. Reading page of the backstairs; and some others also waited. The king's dishes were brought up covered, the say was given, and all things performed with satisfaction in that point. But to return a little. It is well worth observation, that so soon as the king came to his bedchamber, before he either eat or drank, or discoursed with any, he went to prayer and reading in his Bible.

Whilst he was in this sorrowful condition, none of the nobility, no chaplains, no councillors, nor any of his old attendants having the liberty to repair unto him, about the latter end of December his majesty had private notice, how that the house of commons, in a resolve, had declared, "That by the "laws of England, it was treason in the king to levy war "against the parliament and kingdom;" which resolve they sent up unto the lords for their concurrence. The lords, so soon as they had heard it read, rejected it; and after some debate, passed two votes: first, that they could not concur with the house of commons in their declaratory resolve; and secondly, as to that vote of the commons, or order for trial of the king, they could by no means consent unto it. Whereupon the house of commons passed another vote, viz. "That the commons of England, in parliament assembled, have the supreme power." And pursuant thereto, passed an act for trial of the king.

His majesty also had information from private hands of the late proceedings in the house of commons, both as to a violent secluding and seizure of several members by force, being some of those, that upon the 6th of December, 1648, voted, that his majesty's concessions were satisfactory for a settlement of the kingdom's peace; acted by colonel Pride, and some other eminent army-officers, under a notion of purging the house; as also of their votes passed concerning him; by which his majesty was apprehensive of their ill intentions towards his person and government, and did believe his enemies aimed at his deposing and confinement in the Tower, or some such like place; and that they would seat his son the prince of Wales in his throne, if he would accept of it. But as to their taking away his life by trial in any court of justice, or (*subdiu*) in the face of his people, that he could not believe, there being no such precedent, or mention in any of our histories. It is true, his grandmother, the queen of Scots, suffered under queen Elizabeth; but in England she was no sovereign, but a subject to law. Indeed, that some kings of England have been lamentably murdered by ruffians in a clandestine way, our chronicles inform us; but the facts were neither owned nor approved of by any king. Such were his majesty's imaginations, until he came to his trial in Westminster-hall; for then he altered his opinion. Nevertheless, his faith overcoming his fear, he continued his accustomed prudence and patience, so as no outward perturbation could be discerned; with Christian fortitude submitting to the good pleasure of the Almighty, sometimes sighing, but never breaking out into a passion, or uttering a reproachful or revengeful word against any that were his adversaries; saying only, "God forgive their impiety."

For about a fortnight after his majesty's coming to St.

James's, he constantly dined publicly in the presence-chamber, and at meals was served after the usual state, the carver, sewer, cupbearer, and gentleman usher attending and doing their offices respectfully; his cup was given upon the knee, as were his covered dishes; the say was given, and other accustomed ceremonies of state observed, notwithstanding this his dolorous condition; and the king was well pleased with the observance afforded him. But then the case altered; for the officers of the army being predominant gave order at a court of war, "that thenceforth all state ceremony, or accustomed "respect to his majesty at meals, should be forborne, and his "menial servants, though few in number, be lessened." And accordingly the king's meat was brought up by soldiers, the dishes uncovered, no say, no cup upon the knee, nor other accustomed court state was then observed; which was an uncouth sight unto the king, saying, that the respect and honour denied him, no sovereign prince ever wanted; nor yet subjects of high degree, according to ancient practice; further expressing: Is there any thing more contemptible, than a despised prince? But seeing it was come to such a pass, the best expedient he had to reconcile it, was to contract his diet to a few dishes out of the bill of fare, and to eat in private. And his eating being usually agreeable to his exercise, this abstemiousness was in no wise displeasing, his temperance preserving his health, as in these two last years of his life and reign he kept in perfect health, without any indisposition, or recourse to physic; so as in all probability, had not his thread of life been immaturely cut, he might have surpassed the age of any of his royal ancestors.

Upon Friday the 19th of January 1648, his majesty was removed from St. James's to Whitehall, and lodged in his usual bedchamber; after which a guard of musqueteers were placed, and centinels at the door of his chamber; thenceforth Mr. Herbert (who constantly lay in the next room to the king, according to the duty of his place) by his majesty's order, brought his pallat into his majesty's bedchamber, to be nearer his royal person, where every night he rested.

The next day the king was in a sedan, or close chair, removed from Whitehall to sir Robert Cotton's house, near the west-end of Westminster-hall; guards were made on both sides King-street, all along the Palace-yard and Westminster-hall, as his majesty was from the garden-door at Whitehall carried to Cotton-house, none but Mr. Herbert going bare by the king; no other of his majesty's servants going along King-street or Westminster-hall, the soldiers hindering them. At Cotton-house there was a guard of partisans, colonel Hacker sometimes, and colonel Hunks other sometimes commanding them. His majesty being summoned by colonel Hacker to go to the court that was then in Westminster-hall, where serjeant Bradshaw was president, and seated in a chair; also about threescore and twelve other persons, members of the house of commons, officers of the army, and citizens of London, sat upon benches some degrees over one another, as judges; Hacker, by order of the court, (which was erected in the same place where the judges of the king's bench every term used to hear causes,) brought his majesty to a velvet chair, opposite to the president; Mr. Cook the solicitor being placed on the king's right hand. I shall pretermit the judges' names, the formalities of the court, and the proceedings there, by way of charge, as also his majesty's replies, in regard all those particulars have been published at large by sundry writers; nor indeed was much to be observed, seeing his majesty, having heard their allegations, would sometimes smile; and not having his learned counsel to advise with, nor other help, he would not acknowledge their jurisdiction, or that by any known law they had any authority to proceed in that manner against their king; it being without example also. Whereupon the court made no further proceedings that day.

His majesty being returned to Cotton-house, where by sir Thomas Cotton, the master of the house, and Mr. Kinnersly of the wardrobe, the king's chamber had the best accommodation could so suddenly be made; the soldiers that were upon the guard were in the next chamber to the king's. His majesty commanded Mr. Herbert to bring a pallat, and being laid on the matted floor at one side of the king's bed, there slept.

Sunday the 21st of January, [1649] Dr. Juxon, that good bishop of London, had (as his majesty desired) the liberty to attend the king, which was much to his comfort, and (as he said) no small refreshing to his spirit, especially in that his uncomfortable condition. The most part of the day was spent in prayer, and preaching to the king.

Monday the 22nd of January, colonel Hacker brought his majesty the second time before the court, then sitting, as formerly in Westminster-hall. Now the more noble the person is, the more heavy is the spectacle, and inclines generous hearts to a sympathy in his sufferings. Here it was otherwise; for so soon as his majesty came into Westminster-hall, some soldiers made a hideous cry for "Justice, Justice;" some of the officers joining with them. At which uncouth noise the king seemed somewhat abashed, but overcame it with patience. "Sure, to persecute a distressed soul, and to vex him that is "already wounded at the heart, is the very pitch of wicked-"ness; yea, the utmost extremity malice can do, or affliction "suffer," saith Dr. Andrews, the learned bishop of Winchester, in one of his sermons upon the Passion, preached before queen Elizabeth upon Good-Friday, and here applicable[d].

As his majesty returned from the hall to Cotton-house, a soldier that was upon the guard said aloud, as the king passed by, "God bless you, sir." The king thanked him; but an uncivil officer struck him with his cane upon the head; which his majesty observing, said, "the punishment exceeded "the offence." Being come to his apartment in Cotton-house, he immediately, upon his knees, went to prayer. Afterwards he asked Mr. Herbert, if he heard that cry of the soldiers for justice. Who answered, he did, and marvelled thereat. "So "did not I," said the king; "for I am well assured the "soldiers bear no malice to me; the cry was no doubt given "by their officers, for whom the soldiers would do the like, "were there occasion."

His majesty likewise demanded of him, how many there were that sat in the court, and who they were. He replied, they were upwards of threescore, some of them members of the house of commons, others were commanders in the army, and other some citizens of London; some of them he knew, but not all. The king then said, he viewed all of them, but knew not the faces of above eight, and those he named.

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[d] Ninety-six Sermons, p. 337. ed. 1635.

Tuesday the 23rd of January, the king was the third time summoned, and, as formerly, guarded to the court; where (as at other times) he persisted in his judgment, that they had no legal jurisdiction or authority to proceed after that manner against him. Upon which the solicitor began to offer something to the president of the court, but was interrupted by the king, gently laying his staff upon the solicitor's arm, the head of which being silver happened to fall off, which Mr. Herbert (who, as his majesty appointed, waited near his chair) stooped to take up; but falling on the contrary side, to which he could not reach, the king took it up himself. This by some was looked upon as a bad omen.

The court sat but a little while that day; the king not varying from his principle. At his going back to Cotton-house, there were many men and women, (who, not without some hazard, crowded into the passage behind the soldiers,) that as his majesty passed, said aloud, "God Almighty pre-"serve your majesty!" The king returned them thanks for their prayers.

The 27th day of January, the president came to the hall in his scarlet gown. The king had quickly notice the court was set; and being called, he forthwith went; and observing him in his red gown, by that sign he imagined it would be the last day of their sitting, and therefore earnestly pressed the court, that although he could not acknowledge their jurisdiction, for those reasons he had given, nevertheless he desired that he might have a conference in the painted-chamber with a committee of lords and commons, before the court proceeded any farther. Whereupon the president arose, and the court withdrew; in which interval the king likewise retired to Cotton-house, where he and Dr. Juxon were private for about an hour, and then colonel Hunks gave notice that the court was set.

The king being seated in the chair, the president told his majesty, that his motion for a conference with a committee of lords and commons had been taken into consideration, but would not be granted by the court, in regard he would not own their jurisdiction, nor acknowledge them for a lawful assembly. Whereupon the king with vehemency insisted, that his reasonable request might be granted; that what he had to offer to a committee of either house might be considered before they proceeded to sentence.

His majesty had the former day moved the president, that the grounds and reasons he had put in writing for his disowning their authority might be publicly read by their clerk; but neither would that desire of his be granted.

The president then gave judgment against the king, who at the president's pronouncing it was observed to smile, and lift up his eyes to heaven; as appealing to the Divine Majesty, the most supreme Judge.

The king at the rising of the court was with a guard of halberdiers returned to Whitehall in a close chair, through King-street, both sides whereof had a guard of foot-soldiers, who were silent as his majesty passed. But shop-stalls and windows were full of people, many of which shed tears, and some of them with audible voices prayed for the king, who through the privy-garden was carried to his bedchamber; whence, after two hours' space, he was removed to St. James's. Nothing of the fear of death, or indignities offered, seemed a terror, or provoked him to impatience, nor uttered he a reproachful word reflecting upon any of his judges, (albeit he well knew that some of them had been his domestic servants;) or against any member of the house, or officer of the army; so wonderful was his patience, though his spirit was great, and might otherwise have expressed his resentments upon several occasions. It was a true Christian fortitude to have the mastery of his passion, and submission to the will of God under such temptations.

The king now bidding farewell to the world, his whole business was a serious preparation for death, which opens the door unto eternity. In order thereunto, he laid aside all other thoughts, and spent the remainder of his time in prayer and other pious exercises of devotion, and in conference with that meek and learned bishop Dr. Juxon, who, under God, was a great support to him in that his afflicted condition. And resolving to sequester himself so, as he might have no disturbance to his mind, nor interruption to his meditations; he ordered Mr. Herbert to excuse it to any that might have the desire to visit him. "I know," said the king, "my nephew, "the prince-elector, will endeavour it, and some other lords "that love me, which I would take in good part, but my time "is short and precious, and I am desirous to improve it the "best I may in preparation; I hope they will not take it ill, "that none have access unto me but my children. The best "office they can do now is to pray for me." And it fell out accordingly: for his electoral highness, accompanied by the duke of Richmond, the lord marquis of Hartford, the earls of Southampton and Lindsey, with some more, having got leave, came to the bedchamber-door, where Mr. Herbert, pursuant to the king's command, acquainted the prince-elector, and those noblemen, with what the king gave him in charge; wherein they acquiesced, and presenting their humble duty to his majesty, with their prayers, they returned with hearts full of sorrow, as appeared by their faces. The prince also (then in Holland) by the States ambassadors interceded with the parliament, and used all possible means with the army to prevent, or at least for deferring of execution.

At this time also came to St. James's Mr. Calamy, Mr. Vines, Mr. Caryll, Mr. Dell, and some other London ministers, who presented their duty to the king, with their humble desires to pray with him, and perform other offices of services, if his majesty pleased to accept of them. The king returned them thanks for their love to his soul, hoping that they, and all other his good subjects, would, in their addresses to God, be mindful of him. But in regard he had made choice of Dr. Juxon, whom for many years he had known to be a pious and learned divine, and able to administer ghostly comfort to his soul, suitable to his present condition, he would have none other. These ministers were no sooner gone, but Mr. John Goodwyn, minister in Coleman-street, came likewise upon the same account, to tender his service, which the king also thanked him for, and dismissed him with the like friendly answer.

Mr. Herbert about this time going to the Cockpit near Whitehall, where the earl of Pembroke's lodgings were, he then, as at sundry other times, inquired how his majesty did, and gave his humble duty to him, and withal asked him, if his majesty had the gold watch he sent for, and how he liked it. Mr. Herbert assured his lordship, the king had not yet received it. The earl fell presently into a passion, marvelling thereat; being the more troubled, lest his majesty should think him careless in observing his commands; and told Mr. Herbert, at the king's coming to St James's, as he was sitting under the great elm-tree near sir Benjamin Rudyer's lodge in the park, seeing a considerable military officer of the army pass towards St. James's, he went to meet him, and demanding of him if he knew his cousin Tom Herbert, that waited on the king. The officer said, he did, and was going to St. James's. The earl then delivered to him the gold watch that had the alarm, desiring him to give it Mr. Herbert to present it to the king. The officer promised the earl he would immediately do it. " My lord," said Mr. Herbert, " I have " sundry times seen and passed by that officer since, and do " assure your lordship he hath not delivered it me according " to your order and his promise, nor said any thing to me " concerning it, nor has the king it I am certain." The earl was very angry; and gave the officer his due character, and threatened to question him. But such was the severity of the times, that it was then judged dangerous to reflect upon such a person, being a favourite of the time, so as no notice was taken of it. Nevertheless, Mr. Herbert (at the earl's desire) acquainted his majesty therewith, who gave the earl his thanks, and said, " Ah! had he not told the officer it was for " me, it would probably have been delivered; he well knew " how short a time I could enjoy it." This relation is in prosecution of what is formerly mentioned, concerning the clock or alarm-watch his majesty intended to dispose of, as is declared.

That evening, Mr. Seymour, (a gentleman then attending the prince of Wales in his bedchamber,) by colonel Hacker's permission, came to his majesty's bedchamber-door, desiring to speak with the king from the prince of Wales. Being admitted, he presented his majesty with a letter from his highness the prince of Wales, bearing date from the Hague the 23d day January 1648 (old style). Mr. Seymour, at his entrance, fell into a passion, having formerly seen his majesty in a glorious state, and now in a dolorous; and having kissed the king's hand, clasped about his legs, lamentably mourning. Hacker came in with the gentleman and was abashed. But so soon as his majesty had read his son's sorrowing letter, and heard what his servant had to say, and imparted to him what his majesty thought fit in return, the prince's servant took his leave, and was no sooner gone but the king went to his devotion, Dr. Juxon praying with him, and reading some select chapters out of sacred Scripture.

That evening the king took a ring from his finger, and gave it Mr. Herbert; it had an emerald set between two diamonds; and commanded him as late as it was to go with it from St. James's to a lady[d] living then in Channel-row, on the backside of King-street in Westminster, and give it her, without saying any thing. The night was exceeding dark, and guards set in several places, as the house, garden, park, gates near Whitehall, King-street, and other where.

Nevertheless, getting the word from colonel Tomlinson, (then there, and in all places wherever he was about the king so civil both towards his majesty and such as attended him, as gained him the king's good opinion; and who as an evidence thereof, gave him his gold pick-tooth case, as he was one time walking in the presence-chamber,) Mr. Herbert passed currently; though in all places where centinels were he was bid stand, till the corporals had the word from him. Being arrived at the lady's house, he delivered her the ring. "Sir," said she, "give me leave to shew you the way into the parlour;" where she desired him to stay till she returned, which in a little time she did, and gave him a little cabinet which was closed with three seals, two of them being the king's arms, the third was the figure of a Roman; praying him to deliver it to the same hand that sent the ring which was left with her.

The word secured Mr. Herbert's return unto the king. When the bishop being but newly gone to his lodging in sir Henry Hen's house near St. James's gate, his majesty said to Mr. Herbert, he should see it opened in the morning.

Morning being come, the bishop was early with the king, and after prayers his majesty broke the seals open, and shewed them what was contained in it; there were diamonds and jewels, most part broken Georges and Garters. "You see," said he, "all the wealth now in my power to give my two "children." Next day the princess Elizabeth, and the duke of Gloucester, her brother, came to take their sad farewell of the king their father, and to ask his blessing. This was the 29th of January. The princess being the elder, was the most sensible of her royal father's condition, as appeared by her sorrowful look and excessive weeping; and her little brother seeing his sister weep, he took the like impression, though by reason of his tender age he could not have the like apprehension. The king raised them both from off their knees; he kissed them, gave them his blessing, and setting them on his knees, admonished them concerning their duty and loyal observance to the queen their mother, the prince that was his successor, love to the duke of York, and his other relations. The king then gave them all his jewels, save the George he wore, which was cut in an onyx with great curiosity, and set about with twenty-one fair diamonds, and the reverse set with the like number; and again kissing his children, had such pretty and pertinent answers from them both as drew tears of joy and love from his eyes; and then praying God Almighty to bless them, he turned about, expressing a tender and fatherly affection. Most sorrowful was this parting, the young princess shedding tears and crying lamentably, so as moved others to pity, that formerly were hardhearted; and at opening the bedchamber-door, the king returned hastily from the window and kissed them and blessed them; so parted.

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[d] She was the king's laundress, and wife to sir W. Wheeler.—HERBERT.

This demonstration of a pious affection exceedingly comforted the king in this his affliction; so that in a grateful return he went immediately to prayer, the good bishop and Mr. Herbert being only present.

It may not be forgotten, that sir Henry Herbert, knight, master of the revels, and gentleman in ordinary of his majesty's honourable privy-chamber, (one that cordially loved and honoured the king his master, and during the war, suffered considerably in his estate by sequestration and otherwise,) meeting Mr. Herbert his kinsman in St. James's park, first inquired how his majesty did; he then presented his humble duty to the king, with an assurance that himself and many others of his majesty's servants fervently prayed for him, and requested that his majesty would please to read the second chapter of Ecclesiasticus; for he would find comfort in it, aptly suiting his present condition. Accordingly Mr. Herbert soon after acquainted the king therewith, who thanked sir Henry, and commended him for his excellent parts, being a good scholar, soldier, and an accomplished courtier; and for his many years' faithful service much valued by the king, who presently turned to the chapter, and read it with much satisfaction.

That day the bishop of London, after prayers, preached before the king. His text was the second chapter of the Romans and sixteenth verse; the words are, "At that day when "God shall judge the secrets of men by Jesus Christ, &c.:" inferring from thence, that although God's judgments be for some time deferred, he will nevertheless proceed to a strict examination of what is both said and done by every man; yea, the most hidden things and imaginations of men will most certainly be made to appear at the day of judgment, when the Lord Jesus Christ shall be upon his high tribunal. All designs, though concealed in this life, shall then be plainly discovered. He then proceeded to the present sad occasion, and after that administered the sacrament. That day the king eat and drank very sparingly, most part of the day being spent in prayer and meditation; it was some hours after night ere Dr. Juxon took leave of the king, who willed him to be early with him the next morning.

That night, after which sentence was pronounced in Westminster-hall, colonel Hacker (who then commanded the guards about the king) would have placed two musqueteers in the king's bedchamber, which his majesty being acquainted with, he made no reply, only gave a sigh. Howbeit the good bishop and Mr. Herbert, apprehending the horror of it, and disturbance it would give the king in his meditations and preparation for his departure out of this uncomfortable world, also representing the barbarousness of such an act, they never left the colonel till he reversed his order by withdrawing these men.

After the bishop was gone to his lodging, the king continued reading and praying more than two hours after. The king commanded Mr. Herbert to lie by his bedside upon a pallat, where he took small rest, that being the last night his gracious sovereign and master enjoyed. But nevertheless the king for four hours or thereabouts slept soundly, and awaking about two hours afore day, he opened his curtain to call Mr. Herbert; there being a great cake of wax set in a silver bason, that then, so at all other times, burned all night; so that he perceived him somewhat disturbed in sleep; but calling him, bade him rise; "for," said his majesty, "I will get "up, having a great work to do this day;" however he would know why he was so troubled in his sleep. He replied, "May "it please your majesty I was dreaming." "I would know "your dream," said the king; which being told, his majesty said, "it was remarkable. Herbert, this is my second mar-"riage-day; I would be as trim to day as may be; for before "night I hope to be espoused to my blessed Jesus." He then appointed what clothes he would wear; "let me have a "shirt on more than ordinary," said the king, "by reason "the season is so sharp as probably may make me shake, "which some observers will imagine proceeds from fear. I "would have no such imputation. I fear not death! Death "is not terrible to me. I bless my God I am prepared."

These, or words to this effect, his majesty spoke to Mr. Herbert, as he was making ready. Soon after came Dr. Juxon bishop of London precisely at the time his majesty the night before had appointed him. Mr. Herbert then falling upon his knees, humbly begged his majesty's pardon, if he had at any time been negligent in his duty, whilst he had the honour to serve him. The king thereupon gave his hand to kiss, having the day before been graciously pleased, under his royal hand, to give him a certificate, expressing, that the said Mr. Herbert was not imposed upon him, but by his majesty made choice of to attend him in his bedchamber, and had served him with faithfulness and loyal affection. At the same time his majesty also delivered him his Bible, in the margin whereof he had with his own hand writ many annotations and quotations, and charged him to give it the prince so soon as he returned; repeating what he had enjoined the princess Elizabeth his daughter; that he would be dutiful and indulgent to the queen his mother, (to whom his majesty writ two days before by Mr. Seymour,) affectionate to his brothers and sisters, who also were to be observant and dutiful to him their sovereign; and for as much as from his heart he had forgiven his enemies, and in perfect charity with all men would leave the world, he had advised the prince his son to exceed in mercy, not in rigour; and, as to episcopacy, it was still his opinion, "that it is of apostolic institution, and in this king-" dom exercised from the primitive times;" and therein, as in all other his affairs, prayed God to vouchsafe him, both in reference to church and state, a pious and a discerning spirit; and that it was his last and earnest request, that he would frequently read the Bible, which in all the time of his affliction had been his best instructor and delight; and to meditate upon what he read; as also such other books as might improve his knowledge. He likewise commanded Mr. Herbert to give his son, the duke of York, his large ring sun-dial of silver, a jewel his majesty much valued. It was invented and made by Mr. Delamaine, an able mathematician, who projected it, and in a little printed book shewed its excellent use in resolving many questions in arithmetic, and other rare operations to be wrought by it in the mathematics. To the princess Elizabeth, Dr. Andrews's Sermons, (he was prelate of the most noble Order of the Garter, as he was bishop of Winchester,) Archbishop Laud against Fisher the Jesuit, which book, the king said, would ground her against popery, and Mr. Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity. To the duke of Gloucester, King James's Works, and Dr. Hammond's Practical Catechism. Cassandra, to the earl of Lindsey, the lord high chamberlain; and his gold watch to the duchess of Richmond. All which, as opportunity served, Mr. Herbert delivered.

His majesty then bade him withdraw; for he was about an hour in private with the bishop; and being called in, the bishop went to prayer; and reading also the twenty-seventh chapter of the gospel of St. Matthew, which relateth the passion of our blessed Saviour. The king, after the service was done, asked the bishop, if he had made choice of that chapter, being so applicable to his present condition. The bishop replied, " May it please your gracious majesty, it is the proper " lesson for the day, as appears by the calendar;" which the king was much affected with, so aptly serving as a seasonable preparation for his death that day.

So as his majesty, abandoning all thoughts of earthly concerns, continued in prayer and meditation, and concluded with a cheerful submission to the will and pleasure of the Almighty, saying, he was ready to resign himself into the hands of Christ Jesus, being, with the kingly prophet, shut up in the hands of his enemies; as is expressed in the thirty-first Psalm, and the eighth verse.

Colonel Hacker then knocked easily at the king's chamber-door. Mr. Herbert being within, would not stir to ask who it was; but knocking the second time a little louder, the king bade him go to the door. He guessed his business. So Mr. Herbert demanding, wherefore he knocked, the colonel said, he would speak with the king. The king said, " Let him " come in." The colonel in trembling manner came near, and told his majesty, it was time to go to Whitehall, where he might have some further time to rest. The king bade him go forth, he would come presently. Some time his majesty was private, and afterwards taking the good bishop by the hand, looking upon him with a cheerful countenance, he said, " Come, let us go;" and bidding Mr. Herbert take with him the silver clock that hung by the bedside, said, " Open the " door, Hacker has given us a second warning." Through the garden the king passed into the park, where making a stand, he asked Mr. Herbert the hour of the day; and taking the clock into his hand, gave it him, and bade him keep it in memory of him. Which Mr. Herbert keeps accordingly.

The park had several companies of foot drawn up, who made a guard on either side as the king passed, and a guard of halberdiers in company went some before, and other some followed; the drums beat, and the noise was so great as one could hardly hear what another spoke.

Upon the king's right-hand went the bishop, and colonel Tomlinson on his left, with whom his majesty had some discourse by the way; Mr. Herbert was next the king; after him the guards. In this manner went the king through the park; and coming to the stair, the king passed along the galleries unto his bedchamber, where, after a little repose, the bishop went to prayer; which being done, his majesty bid Mr. Herbert bring him some bread and wine, which being brought, the king broke the manchet, and eat a mouthful of it, and drank a small glassfull of claret wine, and then was some time in private with the bishop, expecting when Hacker would the third and last time give warning. Mean time his majesty told Mr. Herbert which satin nightcap he would use, which being provided, and the king at private prayer, Mr. Herbert addressed himself to the bishop, and told him the king had ordered him to have a white satin nightcap ready, but was not able to endure the sight of that violence they upon the scaffold would offer the king. The good bishop bid him then give him the cap, and wait at the end of the banqueting-house, near the scaffold, to take care of the king's body; "for," said he, "that and his interment will be our last office."

Colonel Hacker came soon after to the bedchamber-door, and gave his last signal; the bishop and Mr. Herbert, weeping, fell upon their knees, and the king gave them his hand to kiss, and helped the bishop up, for he was aged.

Colonel Hacker attending still at the chamber-door, the king took notice of it, and said, "Open the door," and bade Hacker go, he would follow. A guard was made all along the galleries and the banqueting-house; but behind the soldiers abundance of men and women crowded in, though with some peril to their persons, to behold the saddest sight England ever saw. And as his majesty passed by, with a cheerful look, heard them pray for him, the soldiers not rebuking any of them; by their silence and dejected faces seeming afflicted rather than insulting. There was a passage broken through the wall, by which the king passed unto the scaffold; where, after his majesty had spoken a little, the fatal stroke was given by a disguised person.

Mr. Herbert, during this, was at the door lamenting; and the bishop coming thence with the royal corpse, which was immediately coffined, and covered with a black velvet pall; he and Mr. Herbert went with it to the backstairs to be embalmed. Meantime they went into the long gallery, where chancing to meet the general[e], he asked Mr. Herbert how the king did. Which he thought strange. It seems thereby that the general knew not what had passed, being all that morning, as indeed at other times, using his power and interest to have the execution deferred for some days; forbearing his coming among the officers, and fully resolved, with his own regiment, to prevent the execution, or have it deferred till he could make a party in the army to second his design; but being with the officers of the army then at prayer, or discourse in colonel Harrison's apartment, being a room at the hither end of that gallery looking towards the privy-garden. His question being answered, the general seemed much surprised; and walking further in the gallery, they were met by another great commander, Cromwell, who knew what had so lately passed; for he told them, they should have orders for the king's burial speedily.

The royal corpse being embalmed and coffined, and those wrapt in lead, and covered with a new velvet pall, was removed to the king's house at St. James's, where was great pressing by all sorts of people to see the king, or where he was. A doleful spectacle! but few had leave to enter and behold it.

Where to bury the king was the last duty remaining. By some historians it is said, that the king spoke something to the bishop concerning his burial.

Mr. Herbert, both before and after the king's death, was frequently in company with the bishop, and affirms, that the bishop never mentioned any thing to him of the king's naming any place where he would be buried; nor did Mr. Herbert (who constantly attended his majesty, and after his coming from Hurst castle, alone in his bedchamber) hear him at any time declare his mind concerning it; nor was it in his lifetime a proper question for either of them to ask, albeit they had oftentimes the opportunity, especially when his majesty was bequeathing to his royal children and friends what is formerly related. Nor did the bishop declare any thing concerning the place to Mr. Herbert, which doubtless he would, upon Mr. Herbert's pious care about it, which being duly consi-

[e] That is, Fairfax.

dered, they thought no place more fit to inter the corpse than in king Henry the Seventh's Chapel, at the east end of Westminster abbey, out of which king's loins king Charles was lineally extracted, and where several kings and queens descended from Henry VII. are interred; namely, king Edward VI., queen Mary, queen Elizabeth, Mary queen of Scots, king James, prince Henry, and other princes of the royal stem.

Whereupon Mr. Herbert made his application to such as were then in power, for leave to bury the king's body in king Henry the Seventh's Chapel, among his ancestors. But his request was denied, this reason being given, that probably it would attract infinite numbers of people of all sorts thither, to see where the king was buried, which (as the times then were) was judged unsafe and inconvenient. Mr. Herbert acquainting the bishop therewith, they then resolved to bury the king's body in the royal chapel of St. George within the castle of Windsor, both in regard his majesty was sovereign of the most noble Order of the Garter; and that several kings his ancestors are there interred; namely, king Henry VI., king Edward IV., and king Henry VIII. It was also a castle and place his majesty took great delight in, as in discourse he ofttimes expressed as occasion offered; and withal, for that the royal chapel of St. George was, though founded by king Edward III., rebuilt by king Edward IV. with much more magnificence.

Upon which considerations Mr. Herbert made his second address to the committee of parliament, who, after some deliberation, gave him an order bearing date the 6th of February 1648[f], authorizing him and Mr. Mildmay to bury the king's body there, which the governor was to observe.

Accordingly the corpse was thither carried from St. James's in a hearse covered with black velvet, drawn by six horses also covered with black; after which, four coaches followed, two of them covered likewise with black cloth, in which were about a dozen gentlemen and others, most of them being such as had waited on his majesty at Carisbrook castle and other places, since his majesty's going from Newcastle; all of them being in black.

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[f] That is, 1649.

Being come to Windsor castle, Mr. Herbert shewed the governor, colonel Whitchcot, the committee's order for permitting Mr. Herbert and Mr. Mildmay to bury the late king in any place within Windsor castle they should think meet.

In the first place in order thereto, they carried the king's body into the dean's house, which all was hung with black by Richard Harrison, and then to his usual bedchamber, which is within the palace. After which they went into St. George's chapel to take a view thereof, and of the most fit and honourable place for the royal corpse to rest in. Having taken a view, they at first thought that the tomb-house would be a fit place. It was erected by the magnificent prelate cardinal Wolsey, (much about the same time he built his stately house at Hampton-court,) in which tomb-house he begun a glorious monument for his great master king Henry VIII., but this place, though adjoining, yet not being within the royal chapel, they waived it. For if king Henry VIII. were buried there (albeit to that day the place of his burial was unknown to any) yet in regard his majesty (who was a real defender of the faith, and as far from censuring any as might be) would upon occasional discourse express some dislike of king Harry's proceedings, in misemploying those vast revenues, the suppressed abbeys, monasteries, and other religious houses were endowed with, and by demolishing those many stately structures (which both expressed the greatness of the founders, and preserved the splendour of the kingdom) as might at the reformation have in some measure been kept up and been converted to sundry pious uses. Upon consideration thereof, those gentlemen declined it, and pitched upon the vault where king Edward IV. is interred, being in the north side of the choir, near the altar, as formerly remembered; that king being one his late majesty would many times make mention of, and from whom his majesty was lineally propagated; which induced Mr. Herbert to give order to have that vault opened, to bury the king's body near his ancestor king Edward IV., who is interred under a fair large stone of Tuke, raised within the opposite arch, having a range of iron bars gilt, curiously cut according to church work. There is no sculpture or inscription, only the royal badge painted on the inside of the arch in several places.

But as they were about this work, some noblemen came thither, namely, the duke of Richmond, the marquis of Hartford, (since duke of Somerset,) the earl of Southampton, the earl of Lindsey, lord high chamberlain, with Dr. Juxon lord bishop of London (archbishop of Canterbury afterwards) who had leave to attend the king's body to his grave. And being fit to submit and leave the choice of the place of burial to those great persons, they in like manner viewing the tomb-house, and the choir, one of those lords beating gently upon the pavement with his staff, perceived a hollow sound, and ordering the stones and earth thereunder to be removed, discovered a descent into a vault, where two coffins were laid near one another; the one very large of antique form, the other little, supposed to contain the bodies of king Henry VIII. and queen Jane Seymour, his third wife, and mother of king Edward VI. of whom in the year 1537 she died in childbed. And this may be credited; for as Mr. Brook, York-herald, (in his Catalogue of the Nobility, p. 40,) observes, no other of king Harry's six wives was buried at Windsor. The velvet palls that were over them seemed fresh, albeit laid there an hundred and thirty years and upwards. The lords agreeing that the king's body should there be interred, (being about the middle of the choir, over against the eleventh stall upon the sovereigns' side,) they gave order to have the king's name and year he died cut in lead; which whilst the workman was about, the lords went out, and gave the sexton order to lock the chapel-door, not suffering any to stay till further notice. The sexton did his best to clear the chapel; nevertheless (he said) a foot soldier had hid himself so as he was not discerned, and being greedy of prey, got into the vault, and cut so much of the velvet pall, as he judged would hardly be missed, and wimbled a hole into the coffin that was largest, probably fancying there was something well worth his adventure. The sexton, at opening the door, espied the sacrilegious person, who being searched, a bone was also found about him, which, he said, he would haft a knife with. The governor gave him his reward. But this manifests that a real body was there, which some that have hard thoughts of king Harry have scrupled[g].

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[g] I suppose Mr. Herbert refers to the tales propagated by the Romanists respecting this king when he was dying.

The girdle or circumscription of capital letters in lead put about the coffin, had only these words,

KING CHARLES,
1648.

The king's body was then brought from his bedchamber down into St. George's hall, whence, after a little stay, it was with a slow and solemn pace (much sorrow in most faces discernible) carried by gentlemen that were of some quality, and in mourning. The lords in like habits followed the royal corpse. The governor and several gentlemen and officers and attendants came after.

This is memorable, that at such time as the king's body was brought out of St. George's hall, the sky was serene and clear, but presently it began to snow, and fell so fast, as by that time they came to the west end of the royal chapel, the black velvet pall was all white (the colour of innocency) being thick covered over with snow. So went the White king[h] to his grave, in the forty-eighth year of his age, and the twenty-second year and tenth month of his reign. Letting pass Merlin's prophecies, some make it allude to the white satin his majesty wore, when he was crowned at Westminster abbey in the year 1625, former kings having on purple robes at their coronation. The king's body being by the bearers set down near the place of burial, the bishop of London stood ready with the Service Book in his hands to have performed his last duty to the king his master, according to the order or form for the burial of the dead, set forth in the Book of Common Prayer, which the lords likewise desired, but would not be suffered by colonel Whichcot the governor, by reason of the Directory; "to which (said he) he and others were to "be conformable."

This brief narrative shall conclude with the king's own excellent expression. "Crowns and kingdoms are not so valuable

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[h] This term, frequently applied to king Charles, probably conveyed to our forefathers a far more distinct idea than it does to us. White was reckoned an ominous colour, as fittest for the dead. Hence a writer in the time of queen Elizabeth says, "To a sick person to have or wear "white garments doth promise "death, for that dead bodies be "carried forth in white clothes." Thomas Hill, quoted by Brand, ii. 173. ed. Ellis on Dreams, 1841.

"as my honour and reputation; those must have a period "with my life, but these survive to a glorious kind of immortality, when I am dead and gone; a good name being the "embalming of princes, and a sweet consecrating of them to "an eternity of love and gratitude amongst posterity."

Copy of a Letter from Sir Thomas Herbert to Sir William Dugdale.

"YORK, 3 November, 1681.

"Honoured Sir,

"I shall now give you all the satisfaction I can, as to the "reality of his late majesty's burial, in his royal chapel at "Windsor, of which (as I perceive by your letter) his majesty is somewhat doubtful, which scruples probably arise "from some misinformation [i].

"That the royal corpse was embalmed and coffined in lead, "you find truly related in my narrative. I was also assured "thereof by Mr. Trapham [k], the chirurgeon, who came to me "for linen, which I furnished him with, of what was my own, "both shirts and sheets, being very fine holland. He either "would not apply to the commissioners then appointed for "the king's burial, (being colonel Harrison, Cornelius Holland, "and others,) or was so delayed that he applied to me; and "accordingly I supplied him agreeable to a pious duty. This "circumstance I mention, as a testimony that the corpse was "undoubtedly coffined, which the chirurgeon, and W. Hammond, that made the wood, and saw the body laid in the "sheet of lead, then averred.

"The body being removed from Whitehall in a chariot to "St. James's, there remained till the 7th of February, during "which it was exposed to public view; as you find writ by "sir Richard Baker, in his Chronicle, page 502, printed in "the year 1660.

"The chirurgeon reported, that at the body's laying into "the coffin, there came several to see the king, and would

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[i] A vague rumour was circulated that Cromwell's body had changed places with that of king Charles.

[k] Of whom Wood gives an unfavourable account. Fasti, ii. p. 85.

"have given him any money for locks of his hair, which he "refused.

"In my narrative I told you, that I begged heartily of the "committee, for leave to inter the royal corpse in king Henry "the Seventh's Chapel at Westminster, but it would not be "granted. The reasons they gave me, you have set down in "that narrative. Whereupon, I petitioned them for leave to "bury him at Windsor; which was granted, and an order "made the 7th of February 1648, by the committee appointed for the interring of the body of the king, thereby "licensing me and captain Mildmay to carry his corpse to "Windsor (taking along those gentlemen and servants that "waited upon the king,) and to inter the corpse in such place "as Mr. Herbert and Mr. Mildmay should see most convenient. For defray of the charge whereof 200*l.* was paid "us by captain Falconberg the 8th of February 1648, which "sum falling short, we had 29*l.* 5*s.* more paid by colonel "Harrison the 20th day of February; the total amounting "to 229*l.* 5*s.*, out of which was 130*l.* paid to seventeen gentlemen and other inferior servants for mourning; amongst "which was Mr. Murray, who was coachman to the king; and "then drove the chariot that had the hearse; and for his "faithful service was continued in that place to our sovereign "that now is, and I think can testify, that the royal corpse "was carried from St. James's to Windsor. I know not "whether he be yet alive.

"Three pounds were paid captain Joyner[1] for three dozen "of torches; 15*s.* to some men for bearing the body from the "gate at Windsor castle to the bedchamber; 7*l.* to John "Harrison, for removing the body thrice; and for hanging the "dean's hall with black 10*s.*

"To Samuel Clarke, for opening king Edward the Fourth's "vault, (where we thought to have interred the king,) and "setting it right again—

"Upon the lords' coming the next day, king Henry the "Eighth's vault was opened by Nicholas Harrison, for which "he had 10*s.*, 5*s.* 6*d.* to widow Puddifat and Isaac the sexton,

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[1] Probably captain John Joyner, who is mentioned in the narrative as being the king's cook and waiting on him at Windsor.

" her man, who had charge of the chapel door; the rest of " the money was disbursed for diet, and to the gentlemen and " servants of the 16th of February, at which time it ceased.

" The account being examined and proved, I had a discharge.

" In this manuscript I now send you by Mr. Waller, I have " in the margin named the inferior attendants. I believe Mr. " Firebrace, Mr. Dowset, and Mr. Levett know most of them; " and if any of them be alive, I verily think they were eye-" witnesses of the late king's being coffined and closed in lead, " when he was removed from St. James's to Windsor; and " then no legerdemain was or could be used to take the " body out of the coffin, I can assure you, I being intrusted " with the corpse sacred.

" Some of these particulars you may judge superfluous or " impertinent; but I know to whom I write, a flower-gatherer, " one I highly honour for your entire love to the memory of " that good king.

" And those that came along with us from St. James's, and " had mourning given them, were persons so quicksighted and " inquisitive, that if the king's real body had not been there, " they would have discovered the fallacy. But there was no " whisper, no word of such a thing amongst any of them, that " I could hear.

" To evidence the truth more fully, the relation which Dr. " Durell, the present dean of Windsor, gave you, is unquestionable, proceeding from so worthy a person, that the old " sexton of the royal chapel affirmed to him upon the question, that the coffin being brought thither, (whilst the king's " name was cutting in capital letters, to be put about it,) the " plumber, at the desire of one of the noblemen, that had the " parliament's leave to attend the king's body to the grave, " opened it, so as they perfectly discerned his face; the sexton " likewise seeing it. So as all these put together make a full " proof thereof.

" I have nothing to add save that it was not Mrs. Jane " Whorwood, to whom I gave the ring his majesty sent by " me, as you find related in my short narrative of some occurrents during the two last years of the late king's reign. " She was wife to a knight, and if it be desired I should give

" you her name, I shall satisfy you therein; mean time wishing " you many happy days, and leisure to publish your collections " concerning our famous cathedral and collegiate churches in " this diocese, am till death,

" Your truly affectionate Friend,
" and obliged Servant,
" Thomas Herbert."

Copy of a Letter from Sir Thomas Herbert to Dr. Samways.

" Y[ork], 28 Aug. 1680.

" Sir,

" After his late majesty's remove from Windsor to St. " James's, albeit according to the duty of my place, I lay " in the next room to the bedchamber, the king then com" manded me to bring my pallet into his chamber, which I " accordingly did the night before that sorrowful day. He " ordered what clothes he would wear, intending that day to " be as neat as could be, it being (as he called it) his wedding" day; and, having a great work to do, (meaning his prepara" tion to eternity,) said, he would be stirring much earlier " than he used.

" For some hours his majesty slept very soundly; for my part " I was so full of anguish and grief, that I took little rest. " The king, some hours before day, drew his bed-curtain to " awaken me, and could by the light of the wax-lamp perceive " me troubled in my sleep. The king rose forthwith; and as " I was making him ready, 'Herbert,' said the king, 'I would " know why you were disquieted in your sleep?' I replied, " 'May it please your majesty, I was in a dream.' 'What " was your dream?' said the king; 'I would hear it.' 'May " it please your majesty,' said I, 'I dreamed, that as you were " making ready, one knocked at the bedchamber-door, which " your majesty took no notice of, nor was I willing to acquaint " you with it, apprehending it might be colonel Hacker. But

" knocking the second time, your majesty asked me, if I heard
" it not. I said, I did; but did not use to go without his
" order. Why then go, know who it is, and his business.
" Whereupon I opened the door, and perceived that it was
" the lord archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Laud, in his pontifical habit, as worn at court. I knew him, having seen him
" often. The archbishop desired he might enter, having
" something to say to the king. I acquainted your majesty
" with his desire; so you bade me let him in. Being in, he
" made his obeisance to your majesty in the middle of the
" room, doing the like also when he came near your person;
" and, falling on his knees, your majesty gave him your
" hand to kiss, and took him aside to the window, where some
" discourse passed between your majesty and him, and I kept
" a becoming distance, not hearing any thing that was said;
" yet could perceive your majesty pensive by your looks, and
" that the archbishop gave a sigh; who, after a short stay, again
" kissing your hand, returned, but with face all the way towards
" your majesty, and making his usual reverences, the third
" being so submiss, as he fell prostrate on his face on the
" ground, and I immediately stept to him to help him up,
" which I was then acting, when your majesty saw me troubled
" in my sleep. The impression was so lively, that I looked
" about, verily thinking it was no dream.'

" The king said my dream was remarkable, 'but he is
" dead; yet, had we conferred together during life, it is very
" likely (albeit I loved him well) I should have said something
" to him might have occasioned his sigh.'

" Soon after I had told my dream, Dr. Juxon, then bishop
" of London, came to the king, as I relate in that narrative I
" sent sir William Dugdale, which I have a transcript of here;
" nor know whether it rests with his grace the archbishop of
" Canterbury, or sir William, or be disposed of in sir John
" Cotton's library near Westminster-hall; but wish you had
" the perusal of it before you return into the north. And this
" being not communicated to any but yourself, you may shew
" it to his grace, and none else, as you promised.

" Sir, your very affectionate friend and servant,

" THOMAS HERBERT."

APPENDIX B.

BISHOP COSINS AND HIS ACCUSERS.

THE following papers are printed here, as they would have confused the course of Fuller's narrative to have placed them in the notes. They seem also to form a necessary part of the bishop's justification, which Fuller intended to have given, had he ever lived to complete a second edition of his Church History.

In his "Worthies," appears the following account of Dr. Cosins.

"John Cosins, D.D., was born in the city of Norwich; bred "in Caius college Cambridge, whereof he was fellow. Hence "was he removed to the mastership of Peter-house in the "same university. One whose abilities, quick apprehension, "solid judgment, variety of reading, &c., are sufficiently made "known to the world in his learned books, whereby he hath "perpetuated his name to posterity.

"I must not pass over his constancy in his religion, which "rendereth him amiable in the eyes, not of good men only, but "of that God with whom there is no variableness nor shadow "of changing. It must be confessed that a sort of fond people "surmised as if he had once been declining to the popish persuasion. Thus the dimsighted complain of the darkness of "the room, when, alas, the fault is in their own eyes; and "the lame of the unevenness of the floor, when indeed it "lieth in their unsound legs. Such were the silly folk (their "understandings, the eyes of their minds, being darkened, "and their affections, the feet of their soul, made lame by "prejudice,) who have thus falsely conceited of this worthy "doctor.

"However, if any thing that I delivered in my 'Church "History,' (relating therein a charge drawn up against him "for urging of some ceremonies, without inserting his purgation, which he effectually made, clearing himself from the "least imputation of any fault,) hath any way augmented "this opinion, I humbly crave pardon of him for the same.

"Sure I am, were his enemies now his judges, (had they "the least spark of ingenuity,) they must acquit him, if "proceeding according to the evidence of his writing, living, "disputing. Yea, whilst he remained in France, he was the "Atlas of the protestant religion, supporting the same with "his piety and learning, confirming the wavering therein, "yea, daily adding proselytes (not of the meanest rank) "thereunto.

"Since the return of our gracious sovereign, and the reviving of swooning episcopacy, he was deservedly preferred "bishop of Durham. And here the reader must pardon me, "if willing to make known my acquaintance with so eminent "a prelate. When one in his presence was pleased with "some propositions, wherein the pope condescended somewhat "to the protestants, he most discretely returned (in my hearing); 'We thank him not at all for that which God hath always allowed us in his word;' adding withal, 'He would "allow it so long as it stood with his policy, and take it away "so soon as it stood with his power.' And thus we take our "leave of this worthy prelate, praying for his long life, that "he may be effectual in advancing the settlement of our yet "distracted church."[a]

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[a] Worthies, i. 483. ed. Lond. 1840.

NOVEMBER 3, 1640.

To the Honourable the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses of the Commons House of Parliament.

The humble petition of Peter Smart, a poor prisoner in the King's Bench,

HUMBLY SHEWETH,

THAT after the death of bishop James, bishop Neale coming to the see of Durham, the then dean and prebendaries of that cathedral church cast the communion table out of the same church, and erected an high altar at the east end of the choir, of marble stones, with a carved screen most gloriously painted and gilded, which cost about two hundred pound.

2. And they bought for forty shillings one cope found in a search for mass priests, embroidered with the image of the Trinity, and other images; and another cope which cost about ten groats, which had been a long time used by the youth of Durham, in their sports and May-games: a very fools coat, both which copes they used at the administration of the holy communion at their altar.

3. To which altar themselves both did and forced others to use most unreasonable and frequent bowing.

4. Dr. Cosins officiated thereat with his face toward the east, and back toward the people.

5. They (the dean and prebendaries) did likewise take away the morning prayer, to which about two hundred persons did usually resort, used for the space of about sixty years in the cathedral church of Durham, as in all other cathedral and collegiate churches in England, to be read at six o'clock plainly and distinctly in a peculiar place appointed for that purpose by commissioners under the great seal of England, Septemb. 25, primo Eliz.

6. And instead thereof altered the same into singing with instruments, without reading any chapters or psalms at the ordinary ten o'clock prayer.

7. They did likewise set up fifty-three glorious images and pictures over the bishop's throne, and about the choir in the said church.

8. And they burnt two hundred wax candles in one Candlemas night in honour of our lady.

9. They brought in sundry other superstitious and unwarrantable observations into that church.

10. To the observation whereof they forced divers, and publicly brawled in the time of divine service in the church with others, who would not observe the same; calling them lazy sows and dirty whores, tearing some gentlewomen's apparel; calling them pagans, and thrusting them out of the church, who refused to obey them therein: for which violent, turbulent demeanour Dr. Cosin was twice indicted at the quarter-sessions holden at Durham.

11. Some of them preached in a cope, and sat to hear divine service in a cope, in the said cathedral church.

12. And others of them, viz. Dr. Cosin, preaching in the said church upon the "Parable of the Tares," delivered this doctrine, "That the reformers of the church, when they took " away the mass, took away or marred all religion, and the " whole service of God;" and, " that it was a deformation in- " deed, though they called it a reformation."

13. And he, the said Dr. Cosins, publicly maintained, " That the king's majesty is not supreme head of the church " in England, nor could be so called, for that he had no more " power to meddle in ecclesiastical matters than the fellow " that rubs his horse's heels." For which he was indicted anno 1629, at the assizes at Durham, and found guilty thereof by the oaths of three men of worth: which indictment remains yet untraversed.

14. Your petitioner being a senior prebendary of that church, and one of his majesty's high commissioners for causes ecclesiastical in the province of York, and in judgment and practice punctually conformable to the doctrine and discipline established in the church of England, opposed the same innovations and doctrines, according to his place and calling.

15. But not prevailing therein, he on July 27, 1628, according to the third Injunction, preached in the said church

against the said innovations; for which sermon he was presently convented before the high commission holden at Durham, and, before any articles exhibited against him, suspended, and his living sequestered. And after his answer upon oath to the articles, and six months' detention in the said high commission, where he was proceeded against with all rigour and extremity, according to the express command (as some of the high commissioners in open court said) of some bishops in London.

16. He was served with a warrant under the high commission seal for the province of Canterbury, and hands of William lord bishop of London, Samuel lord bishop of Norwich, Dr. Cæsar, and Dr. Sammes, to appear before the high commission holden at London, and there forced again to take his oath *ex officio*, and to attend above a quarter of a year for articles, which were pretended to be matters of high nature against him.

17. And was afterward remanded without any articles to York, where in August, 1630, they proceeded to sentence *ex parte*, having denied your petitioner a commission to examine witnesses on his behalf: where he was excommunicated, degraded, fined seven hundred pound, and imprisoned, for opposing and preaching against the said doctrines and superstitious innovations.

18. Notwithstanding that Dr. Cosins and one Mr. Burgoyn were indicted in August, 1629, at Durham assizes upon several bills, and found guilty thereof, which remain likewise untraversed; this legal conviction notwithstanding, the said Dr. Cosins since is made one of his majesty's chaplains in ordinary, admitted to his degree of doctor, master of Peter-house in Cambridge, and vice-chancellor of Cambridge, also dean of Peterborough, (beside four great livings he had before,) and all proceedings upon the former indictments against him stopped.

19. That your petitioner was two several times imprisoned at York before their said sentence, for which injurious imprisonment he commenced his action at law against some of the said high commissioners, and obtained judgment thereupon, and six hundred pound damages, yet cannot have any fruit thereof.

20. That your petitioner petitioned and preferred articles into the high commission in London against the said dean and prebendaries for the said doctrines and innovations, proffering to give good security to prove all the said articles: but the said petition and articles were utterly rejected by the said court, who said, they would not suffer such worthy men to be questioned.

21. That your petitioner hath been kept in prison upon the said sentence in great penury and want almost ten years, and lost both his dignity, and parsonage, and whole estate, whereby he, his wife and children, are utterly ruined in their persons, posterity, and fortunes.

22. That your petitioner is now and hath been above twelve months close prisoner, and his majesty's most gracious reference in his behalf unto the now lord bishop of Durham revoked; upon pretence that he was lately at Glasgow in Scotland, preaching and instigating the Scots against episcopal government; whereas he was never at Glasgow in his life, nor in Scotland these twenty-four years past: nor had directly nor indirectly any intelligence with the Scots.

23. In tender commiseration whereof, your petitioner most humbly beseecheth your serious consideration, both of his miserable distressed condition and great oppressions; as also of the said innovations and offences of the said Dr. Cosins, and the other prebendaries of Durham, with their abettors, who persecuted and censured your petitioner: and to take such course, both for your poor petitioner's relief and release, as also for reformation of the said doctrines innovations and proceedings, and prevention of the like hereafter, as to your great wisdom shall seem meet.

And for that your petitioner is much decayed in his health, by reason of his late restraint, and very poor, he humbly beseecheth you presently to give order for his release from his close imprisonment; and that he may have present execution upon the said judgment for the said six hundred pounds, whereby he shall be enabled to prosecute and prove this his most just complaint against all his adversaries.

And your petitioner shall pray, &c.

A Speech made before the Lords by Francis Rous, Esq., March 16, 1640, *against Dr. Cosins and many others, impeached by the House of Commons in Mr. Smart's cause.*

My Lords,

" I am commanded by the house of commons to present to " your lordships a declaration and impeachment against Dr. " Cosins and others, upon the complaint of Mr. Peter Smart, " which Mr. Smart was a protomartyr, or first confessor of " note in the last days of persecution.

" The whole matter is a tree, whereof the branches and " fruit are manifest in the articles of this declaration, which " being read, I shall (with your lordships' favour) discover " and lay open the root."

The declaration was read, consisting of eighteen articles delivered to the lords in writing:

The Commons' Declaration and Impeachment upon the complaint of Peter Smart, clerk, late prebendary of Durham, against John Cosins, doctor in divinity, Ferdinando Morecroft, George Morecroft, William James, John Robson, Gabriel Clerke, Eleazer Duncomb, and Thomas Carr, prebendaries of Durham: and against William Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, sir Charles Cæsar, sir John Lamb, William Sammes, Edmund Pope, Dr. Aylott, high commissioners of the province of Canterbury: and against John Scott, dean of York, Phineas Hodson, Henry Wickham, George Stanhope, prebendaries of York, sir George Radcliffe, William Easdell, John Bramhall, now bishop of Derry in Ireland, Richard Perrott, Edmund Kay, Richard Marsh, Timothy Thriscross, Robert Falcon, Henry Thriscross, John Lively, Thomas Burwell, high commissioners of the province of York, and Roger Blanchard, pursuivant to the said high commission, and against sir Francis Windebank, for several crimes and misdemeanors.

The Impeachment.

1. THAT after the death of Dr. James, late bishop of Durham, Dr. Neale succeeding him in that bishopric; during

the time he was bishop, the said Dr. Cosins, Ferdinando Morecroft, George Morecroft, William James, John Robson, Gabriel Clerke, together with Richard Hunt, late dean, and others late prebendaries of Durham, took away the communion table of that cathedral church, and erected an altar of marble stones set upon columns, with many cherubims thereupon, and a carved screen curiously painted and gilded set over the same. Which altar, copes, organs, images, pictures, with other furniture and unlawful alterations in the said church, cost the said dean and chapter above two thousand pound.

To which altar thus set up were frequent bowing, which bowing did increase after Dr. Cosin came to be prebend there, few going or coming into the said church without low obeisance: and Dr. Cosin did officiate at the said altar with his face toward the east, and back toward the people, at the time of the administration of the holy communion.

2. That the said dean and prebendaries bought one cope found in a search for mass priests, whereupon was embroidered the image of the Trinity; viz. an old man's face, a crucifix, and a dove: and other two copes, one having a crucifix upon it, which because they were short, they cut and made into one, whereby the crucifix fell upon the hinder part of him that bare it. And another cope which cost about two hundred pound, which copes they frequently used at the administration of the holy communion at the said altar, some of them preaching in a cope, and sitting to hear service in a cope in the said church.

3. That the said dean and prebendaries did also bring in and practise in the said church sundry innovations in divine service, both in time, place, and manner, changing the morning prayer, to which about two hundred persons usually resorted, used for the space of sixty years in the cathedral church of Durham, to be read at six o'clock plainly and distinctly in a peculiar place appointed for that purpose by commissioners under the great seal of England, Septemb. 25, primo Eliz., into solemn service and singing, both instrumental and vocal, whereby it was brought into so late an hour, that some who formerly frequented the old morning prayer, could not attend this. And judge Hutton in particular com-

plained, that the longness and lateness of it was inconsistent with public employments. And afterwards they took the old morning prayer quite away for divers years, and instead thereof divided the ordinary morning service, making two of one, whereby there were neither chapters nor psalms read at ten o'clock prayer.

4. That the said dean and prebendaries set up and renewed many gorgeous images and pictures, three whereof were statues of stone, one of which standing in the midst represented the picture of Christ, with a golden beard, a blue cap, and sun-rays upon his head.

5. That the said dean and prebendaries did use an excessive number of candles; more upon a saint's day than upon the Lord's day; and caused the same candles to be lighted in the said church in a new, strange, and superstitious manner, burning two hundred wax candles in one Candlemas night, whereof there were about sixty upon and about the altar, where there was no use of light, nor service then said: whereupon a popish priest spake, " Let us papists resort to the said church, " to see how Dr. Cosins and the prebendaries of Durham do " play our apes." Dr. Cosins set up some of these candles himself, and caused others with ladders to set up more round about the choir, some of which the said dean sent his servant to take down; but Dr. Cosins did struggle with him in time of prayer, to the great disturbance of the congregation: the manner of lighting the candles was this, they caused two choristers in their surplices to come from the west end of the choir with lighted torches in their hands, who after sundry bowings by the way, to and at the altar, did light the candles upon the same with their torches; which done, they returned backward with many bowings, their faces toward the altar, till they came to the choir door; which ceremony of lighting the excessive number of candles came into the said church after Dr. Cosins was prebendary.

6. That the said dean and prebendaries did absolutely forbid and prohibit the psalms in metre to be sung before and after sermon, and at the administration of the holy communion; and instead thereof turned prayers and pieces of reading psalms into anthems and caused them to be sung, so that the

people understood not whether they were prayers or no. Whereupon Dr. Cosins observing that they kneeled not, sent vergers to some to command them, and spake to others himself, saying, " Masters, you must kneel; it is a prayer, you must kneel." And they caused an anthem to be sung which was not the word of God, as namely, the "Three Kings of Cologne; Jaspar, Melchior, and Balthazar," and caused the organs to play, and the whole choir to sing, at the administration of both the sacraments, to the great disturbance of those holy actions.

7. That the said dean and prebendaries caused many pictures and carved images (besides those that were in the said church) to be set upon the font, amongst which was a dove carved, and the four evangelists, and John baptizing Christ in Jordan, painted; which did appear at the opening of the font: which font they caused to be removed from the ancient usual place in the choir, where it formerly stood, and placed it out of the choir, where divine service is never read.

8. That the said dean and prebendaries did cause a knife to be kept in the vestry for cutting of the sacramental bread, being appropriated only for that use; and was commonly called, known, and shewed to those who came to see the gay ornaments of the church, by the name of the consecrated knife. And Dr. Cosins did consecrate the cushions and forms by crossing them, before the people came to the communion.

9. That the said dean and prebendaries did employ a painter and glazier (professed papists) to serve the said cathedral church in their several uses; and brought in, and practised in the said church several other superstitious innovations tending to idolatry.

10. That Dr. Cosins preaching in the said church upon the "Parable of the Tares," said, "That the reformers of our "church, when they took away the mass, took away or "marred all religion, and the whole service of God; they call- "ed it a reformation, but it was indeed a deformation:" and that the mass was not so taken away, but that the presence of Christ still remaineth; and that if the reformation were otherwise, it were not a reformed but a deformed religion. And that he meant of a corporal presence was plain, for that he complained afterwards, in the said sermon, that some had

"thrust out the presence of Christ: and he likewise said, "that in queen Elizabeth's time when popery was put out, "the reformation was a deformation, and instead of bringing "in order, they brought in ordure."

11. That Dr. Cosins, persuading a papist to come to church, said, "that the body of Christ was substantially and really in the "sacrament;" and shewing him the new Service Book intended for Scotland, he said, it was all one with theirs of the Romish church, for there was in it the introit, the epistle, gospel, offertory, canon, consecration, communion, and post-communion.

12. That Dr. Cosins, at a public dinner, said, "That the "king was not supreme head of the church in England, nor "could be so called;" for which, and introducing and practising of several the said ceremonies, he was indicted at the general assizes in Durham, 1629, and *billa vera* returned, and spoke other scandalous, scornful, and malicious words against his majesty's supremacy.

13. That these innovations in the communion-table, font, candles, pictures, images, copes, singing, vestments, gestures, prayers, doctrines, and speeches of the said Cosins, and the other alterations being unlawfully introduced, and practised in the said cathedral church by the said dean and prebends, Peter Smart, one of the prebends aforesaid, opposed the same, and in discharge of his duty, place, and calling, did, upon July 27, 1628, being the Lord's-day, preach in the said church against the same, reproving these innovations, and innovators, and exhorted the people to keep themselves from the infections of them, in which sermon there was nothing scandalous, nor disagreeable to the word of God, the doctrine and discipline of the church of England.

14. That notwithstanding the said Dr. Cosins, both upon Mr. Smart's reading his text, and going on in his sermon suitable thereunto, very turbulently demeaned himself in the said church; and the sermon being ended, Mr. Smart's troubles began, for there was not one day set between his preaching and his punishment, for the said Dr. Cosins and William James, together with others since deceased, the same Lord's-day, did send a warrant in the nature of an attachment, under the high commission seal for that province, by two pursui-

vants, to convent him before them; whereupon he personally appeared, and delivered to them the imperfect notes of his sermon, which were sealed up, and he ordered to attend the next day, that the same might be truly copied out as he preached them, and as he should deliver them upon oath, and be bound in a recognisance of a hundred pound to appear before them upon a day's warning: but the said dean and prebendaries contrary to their order, did break up the seals, and wrote out several copies of the imperfect notes, and sent them to London to several bishops. And the same day Dr. Cosins asked the advice of a counsellor, whether he might not break open Mr. Smart's doors to search for papers, adding this reason, because the lords of the council did so. And afterward the said dean and prebendaries, with John Lively and Dr. Easdell, were informers, prosecutors, and judges, for six months against the said Peter Smart at Durham, for the same, where they censured him by two acts of sequestration, and one of suspension, and kept him *ex officio* in continual personal attendance under great bonds, and pains of excommunication about four months before there were any articles exhibited against him; and five months before any proctor was allowed him, and after he had there answered articles upon oath, and six months detention before them; they caused a warrant under the high commission seal for the province of Canterbury, and hands of William Laud, bishop of London, Samuel Harsnet bishop of Norwich, Dr. Cæsar, and Dr. Sammes, to be served upon him for his appearance at London; and afterward by act in court unlawfully transmitted him to London, to answer in the high commission there for the same cause.

That the 12th of February, 1628, Mr. Smart appearing at London, before William, then bishop of London, now archbishop of Canterbury, sir John Lamb, Edmund Pope, William Sammes, and Dr. Aleif, together with others deceased, they forced him to take the oath *ex officio* again, to answer articles, which the said archbishop said were matters of high nature against him, and ordered him to be examined thereupon before his departure out of London; and to be proceeded against *ex officio*, because the said dean and prebendaries had recommended the cause thither: according to which order Mr. Smart attended several times upon the register of the said high commission to answer, but could never get any articles. And the said 23rd of April, 1629, the said archbishop, bishop of Ely, and others, did transmit him and the cause, with all the letters and complaints of the said dean and prebendaries against him unto York, unto the high commission there, without any allowance of charges for his unjust vexation at London; because he was convented thither, and proceeded against upon complaint of the said dean and prebendaries, and refused to admit of Mr. Smart's articles against them, although he offered sufficient bond of a thousand pound to prove the same, saying, they would not suffer such worthy men to be questioned.

15. That [on] the 20th of June, Samuel, then archbishop of York, Dr. Hodgson, and others, sent a warrant under the high commission seal for that province, to convent him before them at York: and upon his appearance forced him to take the oath *ex officio* to answer articles, and afterward unlawfully fined him five hundred pound by intimation, and certified the same into the exchequer, and in November following committed him unlawfully to prison, and in December, committed him again, and forced him again to take a fourth oath *ex officio*, to answer articles additionals, and continued him in vexatious attendance before them under great bonds, until the 3rd of August, 1630, when they proceeded to sentence *ex parte;* having sundry times before denied him a commission to examine witnesses on his behalf, interrupted his counsel, and suffered not the brief of his defence to be read; and made many bitter invective speeches against him, and decreed that he should make a recantation, *conceptis verbis*, as it should be delivered to him in three several places in York and Durham, to be suspended totally *ab officio*, fined four hundred pound, condemned in costs of suit, and committed to prison.

16. That the 2nd of September following, they excommunicated him; November the 10th sequestered all his ecclesiastical livings; and November the 18th they degraded him *ab omni gradu et dignitate clericali*, because he did not recant and pay costs: by colour of which degradation, his prebendship, which Dr. Carr hath most injuriously ever since enjoyed, and

parsonage, were both taken from him, and he ever since hath been kept in prison, and laying under all the said several censures, and endured divers other unconscionable and unjust acts and proceedings, both at Durham, London, and York; by which heavy and unjust oppressions, his life hath been several times evidently endangered, and he and his children lost and spent above fourteen thousand pound of real estate, whereby they are utterly undone.

17. That Mr. Smart, Pasch. 5 Car. Reg., brought an action of false imprisonment in the king's bench, against Dr. Hodgson, Dr. Easdell, and Roger Blanchard, their pursuivant, for their said two unjust commitments before their sentence, and after seven terms spent in delays, and several peremptory orders for them to plead, he obtained judgment upon a *nihil dicit*, and six hundred pound damages upon a writ of inquiry, which was returned into the said court, and by the then judges overruled, and Mr. Smart ordered to accept a long and frivolous plea, contrary to the opinion of judge Crook; to which plea he demurred, but could not get it argued, whereby he never received any benefit or profit thereof.

18. That in July, 1638, Mr. Smart having obtained his majesty's most gracious reference in his behalf unto the now bishop of Durham, secretary Windebank, did revoke the same, by his letter to the said bishop; who upon receipt thereof, sent two pursuivants with a warrant under the high commission seal for that province, signed by himself, Thomas Burwell, and others; whereby he was apprehended, and carried prisoner unto Durham, where he remained prisoner above six weeks; and from thence brought him prisoner in a cart to London, to the said secretary, who remanded him prisoner to the king's bench; and about two days after, by the said secretary's command was taken out of his own chamber, and put into the common prison, where he remained about a month, and sixteen weeks more close prisoner in his own chamber, upon pretence that he had been at Glasgow in Scotland, preaching and instigating the Scots against episcopal government; whereas he was never in Glasgow in his life, nor had directly nor indirectly any intelligence with the Scots. Upon which his said imprisonment he several times petitioned the *said* secretary, lord bishop, archbishop, and his majesty, but

could never get any release or examination thereof; all which he hath and is still ready to prove; by which unjust, cruel, and illegal acts and proceedings of the said bishop, dean and chapter of Durham, and the said high commission of London and York, religion hath been mightily scandalized, the church polluted, justice perverted, the laws ecclesiastical and temporal, and the lawful liberty of the subjects of this kingdom violated and infringed; and the said Peter Smart, his wife, children and family, most unjustly and unchristianly undone and ruined, to the great dishonour of God, maintenance of injustice, and pernicious example to posterity.

All which said matters and things the commons do transmit to your lordships; and impeach all the said parties delinquent, to the end that they may be called to answer their several crimes, and receive such condign punishment; and Mr. Smart such reparations jointly and severally from them all both for the said losses, and also for his damage hereby sustained, and that he be restored to his ecclesiastical dignity and living; and all the said sentences and proceedings may be declared to be illegal and unjust. And that such further proceedings, examinations, trials, and judgments be upon every of them had, and used, as is agreeable to law and justice.

As soon as this declaration was read to the lords, Mr. Rous proceeded thus:

" MY LORDS,

" I am now to discover the root of Mr. Smart's persecution.
" Your lordships have heard of a great design to bring in po-
" pery: you have heard of armies of soldiers, and particularly
" of the popish Irish army, the burden and complaint of the
" commons. But there is another army not so much spoken
" of, and that is an army of priests; for since altars came in,
" (so they delight to be called,) it is a saying of Gregory the
" Great, 'that when antichrist is come, *præparatus est exer-*
" *citus sacerdotum,* there is an army of priests ready to re-
" ceive him;' this is fulfilled in our time, for certainly this
" army of priests doth many ways advance the design and
" plot of popery.

"A first is, by the subversion of our laws and government. "Our laws and popery cannot stand together; but either popery must overthrow our laws, or our laws must overthrow "popery: but to overthrow our laws, they must overthrow "parliaments; and to overthrow parliaments, they must overthrow property: they must bring the subject's goods to be "arbitrarily disposed, that so there may be no need of parliaments. This hath been done by Dr. Mainwaring, (whom "we find wanting yet not in the seats, but at the bar of the "lords' house,) and the like by Dr. Beale; and I think it was "the intent of the late canons.

"A second way, by which this army of priests advanceth "this popish design, is the way of treaty; this has been acted "both by writings and conference. Sancta Clara himself "saith, '*Doctissimi eorum quibuscunque egi*;' so it seems they "have had conference together: and Sancta Clara on his "part labours to bring the articles of our church to popery, "and some of our side labour to meet him in the way. We "have a testimony that the great arch-priest himself hath "said, 'It were no hard matter to make a reconciliation if a "wise man had the handling of it.' But, I verily believe, as "the state of papacy stands, a far wiser man than he cannot "reconcile us without the loss of our religion; for the pope "being fastened to his errors, even by his chair of inerrability, "he sits still unmoved, and so we cannot meet, except we come "wholly to him. A man standing in a boat tied to a rock, "when he draws the rope, doth not draw the rock to the "boat, but the boat to the rock. And Sancta Clara doth (in "this somewhat honestly) confess it, for he saith, he dealt in "this way of treaty, 'not to draw the church to the protestants, but the protestants to the church.'

"A third way is a way of violence. This violence they exercise, partly by secular arms, and partly by priestly arms, "which they call spiritual. For secular arms, we have their "own confession, that the late war was *bellum episcopale;* and "we have the papists' confession, that it was *bellum papale;* "for in their motives they say, that the war concerns them "not only as subjects, but as catholics, for so they falsely call "themselves; and if it be so, then *bellum episcopale* is also "*bellum papale*. In the episcopal war the papal cause is ad-

" vanced, for the spiritual arms, thus they come to execution. " When a great man is coming, his sumpters, his furniture, " his provisions, go before: the pope's furniture, altars and " copes, pictures and images, are come before; and, if we believe Dr. Cosins, the very substance of the mass; a certain " sign that the pope was not far off. Now these forerunners " being come, if any man resist them, fire comes out of the " brambles and devours the cedars of Libanus: the army of " priests falls upon him with their arms of suspension, sequestration, excommunication, degradation, and deprivation. " And by these arms hath Mr. Smart been oppressed and " undone: he falls upon their superstitions and innovations, " and they fall upon him with their arms; they beat him " down, yea, they pull him up by the roots, taking away all " his means of maintenance and living, yet they leave him life " to feel his miseries. *Ita feriunt ut diu se sentiat mori*, there " is no cruelty to priestly cruelty. These are they that did " put our very Saviour to death: the calling is reverend, but " the corruption is most pernicious, *corruptio optimi pessima.* " I know no reason of this change, except it be that of the " apostle, because when they knew God, they did not worship " him as God, but made a god of this world, placing the excellency of priesthood in worldly pomp and greatness, and " gave the glory of the invisible God to pictures, images, and " altars; therefore God gave them up to vile affections, to be " implacable, unmerciful, and without natural affection. But " whatsoever the cause is of their corruption, certainly their " arms have fallen heavy upon Mr. Smart, and priestly " cruelty hath cast him into a long misery, from which he " could get no release by any priestly mercy.

" And now it is prayed, that as these delinquents, by the " cruel oppressions of Mr. Smart, have advanced the cause of " popery, so they may in such a degree of justice be punished, " that in them priestly cruelty, and the very cause of popery " may appear to be punished and suppressed; and that Mr. " Smart, suffering for the cause of protestancy, may be so repaired, that in him pious constancy and the very cause of " protestancy may appear to be righted and repaired.

The Articles or Charge exhibited in Parliament against Dr. Cosins of Durham, anno 1641.

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1. THAT he was the first man that caused the communion table in the church of Durham to be removed and set altarwise, in the erecting and beautifying whereof, he (being then treasurer) expended two hundred pounds.

2. That he used to officiate at the west side thereof, turning his back to the people.

3. That he used extraordinary bowing to it.

4. That he compelled others to do it, using violence to the persons of them that refused so to do; for instance, once some omitting it, he comes out of his seat, down to the seat where they sat, being gentlewomen, called them whores and jades, and pagans, and the like unseemly words, and rent some of their clothes.

5. That he converted divers prayers in the book of Common Prayer into hymns, to be sung in the choir, and played with the organ, contrary to the ancient custom of that church.

6. That whereas it had been formerly a custom in that church, at the end of every sermon to sing a psalm; this custom, when Dr. Cosins came thither, was abrogated, and instead thereof they sung an anthem in the choir, there being no psalm sung either at the minister's going up into the pulpit or at his coming down.

7. That the first Candlemas-day at night that he had been in that church, he caused three hundred wax candles to be set up and lighted in the church at once, in honour of our lady, and placed threescore of them upon and about the altar.

8. That in this church there were reliques of divers images, above which were remaining the ruins of two seraphims, with the picture of Christ between them, erected in queen Mary's time in the time of popery, all which, when queen Elizabeth

came to the crown, were demolished by virtue of a commission by her to that intent granted, which so continued demolished from that time till Dr. Cosins came to that church, who, being treasurer, caused the same to be repaired and most gloriously painted.

9. That all the time that he was unmarried, he wore a cope made of white satin, never officiating in any other, it being reserved solely for him, no man except himself making use thereof, which after marriage he cast off, and never after wore.

10. That there was a knife belonging to the church, kept altogether in the vestry, being put to none but holy uses, as cutting the bread in the sacrament, and the like; Dr. Cosins refusing to cut the same with any other but that, thinking all others that were unconsecrated polluted but that, which he, putting holiness in, never termed but the consecrated knife.

11. That he in a sermon preached in that church, did deliver certain words in disgrace of the reformers of our church; for instance, the words were these: " The reformers of this " church, when they abolished the mass, took away all good " order, and instead of reformation, made it a deformation."

12. That he seldom or never in any of his sermons styled the ministers of the word and sacraments by any other name than priests, nor the communion-table by any other name than altar.

13. That by his appointment there was a cope bought, the seller being a convicted Jesuit, and afterwards employed in that church, having upon it the picture of the invisible and incomprehensible Trinity.

14. That whereas it had been formerly a custom in that church, at five of the clock to have morning prayers read winter and summer, this custom, when Dr. Cosins came thither, was abandoned, and instead thereof was used singing, and playing on the organs, and some few prayers read, and this was called first service, which being ended, the people departed out of the church, returning at nine a clock, and having then morning prayers read unto them, and this was

called second service, which innovation being misliked, and complained of by master justice Hutton, was reformed.

15. That he framed a superstitious ceremony in lighting the tapers which were placed on the altar, which for instance was this: a company of boys that belonged to the church came in at the choir door with torches in their hands lighted, bowing towards the altar at their first entrance, bowing thrice before they lighted their tapers, having done, they withdrew themselves, bowing so oft as before; not once turning their back parts towards the altar, the organs all the time going.

16. That he counselled some young students of the university to be imitators and practisers of his superstitious ceremonies, who, to ingratiate themselves in his favour, did accordingly, and being afterwards reproved for the same by some of their friends, confessed that Dr. Cosins first induced them to that practice, and encouraged them therein.

17. That he used upon communion-days to make the sign of the cross with his finger both upon the seats whereon they were to sit, and the cushions to kneel upon, using some words when he so did.

18. That one sabbath-day there was set up an unnecessary company of tapers and lights in the church, which Dr. Hunt, being then dean, fearing they might give offence, being they were unnecessary, sent his man to pull them down, who did so; but Dr. Cosins being thereat aggrieved, came to the fellow, and there miscalled him in most uncivil manner, and began to beat him in the public view of the congregation, to the great disturbance of the same.

19. That the dean and chapter of that church, whereof Dr. Cosins was one, with many others, being invited to dinner in the town of Durham, Dr. Cosins then and there spake words derogating from the king's prerogative; the words were these: "The king hath no more power over the church, than the boy "that rubs my horse's heels."

20. That there being many of the canons of the said church present at that time, amongst the rest there was one took more notice of his words than the rest, and acquainted one of his fellow canons with them when he came home; this canon,

being a friend to Dr. Cosins, told the doctor that such a man exclaimed of him, and charged him with words that he should speak at such a time; the doctor presently sends for him, and when he came into the house, the doctor desires him to follow him into an inner room, who did so; but so soon as he came in the doctor shuts the door, and sets both his hands upon him, calling him rogue and rascal, and many other names, insomuch that the man, fearing he would do him a mischief, cried out; mistress Cosins coming in, endeavoured to appease her husband, and holding his hands, the other ran away.

21. That the doctor did seek many unjust ways to ensnare this man, that so he might take a just occasion to put him out of his place, but none of them taking effect, he put him out by violence, having no other reason why he did so, but because he had no good voice, when as he had served the place two years before Dr. Cosins came thither; for instance of which unjust ways to ensnare this man, Dr. Cosins hired a man and a woman to pretend a desire of matrimony, and to offer a sum of money to this petty canon to contract matrimony between them in a private chamber, so thereupon to take advantage of his revenge upon him. This plot being confessed by the parties to be first laid by Dr. Cosins, and that they were his instruments.

The Answer of Dr. Cosins to the Charge foregoing.

"PARIS, April 6, 1658.

"SIR,

"I am glad to hear from you of your safe arrival in Eng-
"land: and I am to thank both you and other of my friends,
"that intend to vindicate me from the injury done no less to
"truth than to myself, by a passage in Mr. Fuller's History,
"which I believe he inserted there (as he doth many things
"besides) upon the false reports and informations of other
"men, that were loath to let an old malicious accusation die,
"as it might well enough have done, if he had not kept it up
"still alive, and recorded it to posterity; whereof he is so
"sensible already himself, that by his own letter directed to
"me (more than a year since) he offered to make me amends
"in the next book he writes; but he hath not done it yet.
"Having never been acquainted with him more than by his
"books, which have many petulant, light, and indiscrete pas-
"sages in them, I know not how to trust him; and therefore
"if the authors of the intended 'Animadversions' (which you
"mention) will be pleased to do me right, you may assure
"them there is nothing but truth in this ensuing relation.

"Mr. Smart, who had been schoolmaster, and after became
"prebendary of Durham, was an old man of a most froward,
"fierce, and unpeaceable spirit, &c. Upon a seditious ser-
"mon which he preached in that church, (where contrary to
"his duty he had neglected to preach for seven years toge-
"ther before,) he was first questioned at Durham, from whence
"he was called to the high commission court at London, and
"afterwards at his own desire remitted to the same court at
"York; where being sentenced to recant, and refusing so to
"do with great scorn, he was at last, upon his obstinacy, de-
"graded from his ecclesiastical function; and that sentence
"was not long after judicially confirmed by judge Davenport at
"the public assizes in Durham, where he was by public sentence

" also at the common law put out of his prebend, and his benefices that he formerly held in that county.

" Many years following he procured a large maintenance " for himself and his family, to the sum of 400*l.* per annum, " (more worth to him than his church-profits ever were,) out " of the peculiar contributions at London, and elsewhere gathered up for silenced ministers.

" But when the parliament began in the year 1640, upon " project and hope of getting more, he preferred a bill of " complaint there against thirty several persons at the least, " that is, against the high commissioners at London, the " same commissioners and prebends residentiary at York, the " dean and chapter of Durham, with divers others, whereof I " was but one, though he was pleased to set my name in the " front of them all. From all these together he expected to " recover and receive a greater sum of money (for money was " his project) pretending that he had lost by them no less " than thirty thousand pounds, though he was never known " to be worth one.

" After his bill of complaint was carried up by a gentleman " of the house of commons to the house of lords, among the " rest of those persons that were accused by him (some for " superstition, and some for persecution) I put in my full answer upon oath, and declared the truth of the whole matter; " whereof Mr. Fuller taketh not any notice at all, and therein " dealeth most unfaithfully both with me and the reader of " his History; for that answer of mine is upon record, among " the rolls of parliament, and was justified before the lords " both by myself, and by the very witness that Mr. Smart " and his son-in-law produced there against me; whereupon " his own lawyer, Mr. Glover, openly at the bar of that " honourable house forsook him, and told him plainly, that " he was ashamed of his complaint, and could not in conscience " plead for him any longer: Mr. Smart in the mean while " crying out aloud and beseeching their lordships to appoint " him another lawyer, and to take care of his fourteen thousand pound damages, besides other demands that he had " to make, which arose to a greater sum.

" But after this, which was the fifth day of pleading be-

"tween us, the case was heard no more concerning my particular, and many of the lords said openly, that Mr. Smart had abused the house of commons with a causeless complaint against me, whereupon my lord the earl of Warwick was pleased to bring me an order of the lords' house, whereby I had liberty granted me to return unto my places of charge in the university, or elsewhere, till they sent for me again, which they never did.

"The answers that I gave in upon oath, and justified before their lordships, were to this effect, all contrary to Mr. Fuller's groundless reports.

"1. That the communion-table in the church of Durham (which in the bill of complaint and Mr. Fuller's History is said to be the marble altar with cherubims) was not set up by me, but by the dean and chapter there (whereof Mr. Smart himself was one) many years before I became prebendary of that church, or ever saw the country.

"2. That by the public accounts which are there registered, it did not appear to have cost above the tenth part of what is pretended, appurtenances and all.

"3. That likewise the copes used in that church were brought in thither long before my time, and when Mr. Smart the complainant was prebendary there, who also allowed his part (as I was ready to prove by the Act Book) of the money that they cost, for they cost but little.

"4. That as I never approved the picture of the Trinity, or the image of God the Father in the figure of an old man, or otherwise to be made or placed any where at all, so I was well assured that there were none such (nor to my knowledge or hearsay ever had been) put upon any cope that was used there among us; one there was that had the story of the Passion embroidered upon it, but the cope that I used to wear when I at any time attended the communion service, was of plain white satin only without any embroidery upon it at all.

"5. That what the bill of complaint called the image of Christ, with a blue cap and a golden beard, (Mr. Fuller's History says it was red, and that it was set upon one of the copes,) was nothing else but the top of bishop Hatfield's "tomb, (set up in the church under a side arch there, two "hundred years before I was born,) being a little portraiture "not appearing to be above ten inches long, and hardly dis- "cernible to the eye what figure it is, for it stands thirty "foot from the ground.

"6. That by the local statutes of that church (whereunto "Mr. Smart was sworn, as well as myself) the treasurer was "to give order, that the provision should every year be made "of a sufficient number of wax-lights for the service of the "choir during all the winter time; which statute I observed "when I was sworn into that office, and had order from the "dean and chapter by capitular act to do it: yet upon the "communion-table they that used to light the candles (the "sacrists and the vergers) never set more than two fair can- "dles with a few small sizes near to them, which they put "there, of purpose that the people all about might have the "better use of them for singing the psalms and reading the "lessons out of the Bibles; but two hundred was a greater "number than they used all the church over, either upon "Candlemas-night or any other, and that there were no more "(sometimes many less) lighted at that time than at the like "festivals in Christmas holidays, when the people of the city "came in greater company to the church, and therefore re- "quired a greater store of lights.

"7. That I never forbade (nor anybody else that I know) "the singing of the (metre) psalms in the church, which I "used to sing daily there myself with other company at "morning prayer. But upon Sundays and holy days in the "choir, before the sermon the Creed was sung (and sung "plainly for every one to understand) as it is appointed in "the Communion-Book, and after the sermon we sung a part "of a psalm, or some other anthem taken out of the Scrip- "ture, and first signified to the people where they might "find it.

"8. That so far was I from making any anthem to be sung "of the 'Three Kings of Colen,' as that I made it when I "first saw it to be torn in pieces, and I myself cut it out of "the old song books belonging to the choristers' school, with "a penknife that lay by, at my very first coming to reside in "that college. But sure I was, that no such anthem had "been sung in the choir during all my time of attendance "there, nor (for aught that any the eldest persons of the "church and town could tell, or ever heard to the contrary) "for fifty or threescore years, or more.

"9. That there was indeed an ordinary knife I confess, "provided and laid ready among other things belonging to "the administration of the communion, for the cutting of the "bread, and divers other uses in the church vestry, that "when the under officers there had any occasion to use a "knife, they might not be put to go to seek one abroad. But "that it was ever consecrated, or so called, otherwise than "as Mr. Smart and some of his followers had for their pleasure put that appellation upon it, I never heard, nor I believe anybody else that lived here among us.

> "[There were divers other articles of this nature in the "bill of complaint, whereof Mr. Smart could not prove "any one, to which I gave the like answers, as I did "here to these; but Mr. Fuller's History makes no "mention of them.]

"10. Touching Mr. Smart's sermon, I made answer, and "submitted his censure to the prudent and religious consideration of the lords, whether he was not justly condemned to "be scandalous and seditious by his preaching thereof; and "I represented many passages in it disagreeable to the laws "of God and his church, and repugnant to the public statutes "of parliament.

"11. For which after we had begun to question him, in "the high commission court at Durham, (where we endeavoured to reduce him to a better mind, and to an unity with "the church, against which he had so injuriously and intemperately declaimed,) I had no further hand or meddling "with the prosecution of this matter in other courts against "him, more than that I wrote (at the special instance of "judge Yelverton) a letter in his behalf to the archbishop of "York, and the commissioners there, which I procured the "dean and most of the prebendaries of Durham to sign and "subscribe with me, earnestly entreating for him, that upon "any due sense of his fault, he might be quietly sent back to

" us again, in hope that he would hereafter live in better " peace and concord with us (as he promised both judge " Yelverton and us to do) than he had done before.

" 12. The cruel usage and imprisonment that he suffered " (whereof Mr. Fuller taketh special notice, and makes a " marginal mark at it) was, as I have been credibly assured, " nothing else but a fair and gentle treatment of him in an " officer's house at York, to whom he was committed for a " while, and paid little for it. It is the historian's mistake " here to say he was carried from York to Lambeth; for he " was at his own request sent from Lambeth to York. The " fine that was set upon him he never paid, and by his own " wilful loss of his church-livings he gained a larger mainte-" nance, living at his ease and pleasure, by the contribution " that he got as a suspended and silenced preacher; though " the truth was, that having had a prebend and a benefice " many years together in the bishopric of Durham, and being " always in health, he neglected preaching so much at them " both, and elsewhere besides, that he was seldom noted to " preach above two sermons in a year; who, though he de-" manded many thousand pounds at the parliament, yet by " Mr. Fuller's leave, the parliament gave him none; nor or-" dered either myself, nor any other that he impeached, ever " to pay him a groat. Only upon Dr. Carr's death (who had " been put into his prebend place) he was sent by the lords " to his vicarage and his prebend again, which he had little " will to take, because he found but little profit in comparison " of what he hoped to be had by them; in the mean while he " took up divers great sums of money from some of his parti-" sans in London, and made them believe that the parliament " would pay them all with advantage.

" 13. There is another marginal note in Mr. Fuller, refer-" ring, as he saith, to my due praise and commendation, " whereof he makes one part to be, that I joined not with the " French protestants at Charenton, since I got over hither " into France: but I would that he and all the world should " know it, I never refused to join with the protestants either " there, or any where else, in all things wherein they join with " the church of England. Many of them have been here at

" our church, and we have been at theirs. I have buried " divers of our people at Charenton, and they permit us to " make use of their peculiar and decent cemetery here in " Paris for that purpose, which if they did not, we should be " forced to bury our dead in a ditch. I have baptized many " of their children at the request of their own ministers, with " whom I have good acquaintance, and find them to be very " deserving and learned men, great lovers and honourers of " our church, notwithstanding the loss which she hath lately " received in external matters, wherein we are agreed that " the essence of true religion doth not consist. Many of " their people (and of the best sort and quality among them) " have frequented our public prayers with great reverence, " and I have delivered the holy communion to them, according to our own order, which they observed religiously. I " have married divers persons of good condition among them: " and I have presented some of their scholars to be ordained " deacons and priests here by our own bishops, (whereof " Monsieur De Turenne's chaplain is one, and the duke De " la Force's chaplain another,) and the church at Charenton " approved of it; and I preached here publicly at their ordination. Besides I have been (as often as I had spare time " from attending our own congregation) to pray and sing " psalms with them, and to hear both the weekly and the " Sunday sermons at Charenton, whither two of my children " also (pensioned here in a protestant family at Paris) have " daily repaired for that purpose with the gentlewoman that " governed them.

" All which is abundantly enough to let the world know " and see here (as it doth) what a vain and rash man Mr. " Fuller is in his History: wherein he hath done injury to " many more besides me, some dead and some alive, who I " hope will represent his unfaithfulness in his own country, " both to himself and to others. I am only beholden to him " for telling the truth of me in one particular, which is, that " I have by God's blessing reduced some and preserved many " others from communicating with the papists; defending " the truth of our own religion (as I have always done) wher-

"ever I am; and therein I pray God still to bless us and "preserve us all[n].

"And now out of all this which I have faithfully related, I "trust that those who intend their 'Animadversions' upon "his History will have enough to say and insert in their own "style for the vindication of,

"Sir,

"Your affectionate and most humble servant,

"J. C."[o]

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[n] See the Life of Bishop Cosins prefixed to his History of Transubstantiation, p. 27. Lond. 1840.

[o] Fuller's reply to this letter will be found in the Appeal, p. 668. It has not been thought expedient to print it here, as it contains nothing more tending to the exculpation of the bishop, than a profession from Fuller, that he would vindicate the bishop's innocence both in his Worthies and in the next edition of his Church History.

APPENDIX C.

BISHOP MONTAGUE AND HIS ACCUSERS.

The Bishops of Rochester, Oxford, and St. David's to the Duke of Buckingham, concerning Mr. Montague.

" May it please your Grace,

" WE are bold to be suitors to you in the behalf of the church of England, and a poor member of it, Mr. Montague, at this time not a little distressed. We are not strangers to his person, but it is the cause which we are bound to be tender of. The cause we conceive (under correction of better judgment) concerns the church of England merely; for that church, when it was reformed from the superstitious opinions broached or maintained by the church of Rome, refused the apparent and dangerous errors, and would not be too busy with every particular school-point. The cause why she held this moderation, was because she could not be able to preserve any unity amongst Christians, if men were forced to subscribe to curious particulars disputed in schools.

" Now, may it please your Grace, the opinions which at this time trouble many men in the late book of Mr. Montague, are some of them such as are expressly the resolved doctrine of the church of England, and those he is bound to maintain. Some of them such as are fit only for schools, and to be left at more liberty for learned men to abound in their own sense, so they keep themselves peaceable, and

" distract not the church. And therefore to make any man " subscribe to school opinions may justly seem hard in the " Church of Christ, and was one great fault of the council of " Trent. And to affright them from those opinions in which " they have (as they are bound) subscribed to the church, as " it is worse in itself, so it may be the mother of greater " danger.

" May it please your Grace further to consider, that when " the clergy submitted themselves in the time of Henry the " Eighth, the submission was so, that if any difference, doc-" trinal or other, fell in the church, the king and the bishops " were to be judges of it in a national synod, or convoca-" tion, the king first giving leave under his broad seal to " handle the points in difference. But the church never sub-" mitted to any other judge, neither indeed can she, though " she would. And we humbly desire your Grace to consider, " and then to move his most gracious majesty (if you shall " think fit) what dangerous consequences may follow upon it. " For first, if any other judge be allowed in matter of doc-" trine, we shall depart from the ordinance of Christ, and " the continual course and practice of the church.

" Secondly, if the church be once brought down beneath " herself, we cannot but fear what may be next struck at.

" Thirdly, it will some way touch the honour of his majesty's " dear father, and our most dread sovereign of glorious and " ever blessed memory, king James, who saw and approved " all the opinions in this book; and he in his rare wisdom " and judgment would never have allowed them, if they had " crossed with truth and the church of England.

" Fourthly, we must be bold to say, that we cannot con-" ceive what use there can be of civil government in the com-" monwealth, or of preaching and external ministry in the " church, if such fatal opinions as some which are opposite " and contrary to those delivered by Mr. Montague, are and " shall be publicly taught and maintained.

" Fifthly, we are certain that all or most of the contrary " opinions were treated of at Lambeth, and ready to be pub-" lished, but then queen Elizabeth of famous memory, upon " notice given how little they agreed with the practice of "piety and obedience to all government, caused them to be "suppressed, and so they have continued ever since; till of "late some of them have received countenance at the synod "of Dort. Now this was a synod of that nation, and can be "of no authority in any other national church, till it be received there by public authority. And our hope is, that "the church of England will be well advised, and more than "once over, before she admit a foreign synod, especially of "such a church as condemneth her discipline and manner of "government, to say no more.

"And further we are bold to commend to your Grace's "wisdom this one particular. His majesty (as we have been "informed) hath already taken this business into his own "care, and most worthily referred it in a right course to "church consideration. And we well hoped, that without further trouble to the state, or breach of unity in the church, "it might so have been well and orderly composed, as we "still pray it may. These things considered, we have little "to say for Mr. Montague's person, only thus much we know: "he is a very good scholar, and a right honest man, a man "every way able to do God, his majesty, and the church of "England great service. We fear he may receive great discouragement, and, which is far worse, we have some cause to "doubt this may breed a great backwardness in able men to "write in the defence of the church of England, against either "home or foreign adversaries, if they shall see him sink in "fortunes, reputation, or health, upon his book occasion.

"And this we most humbly submit to your Grace's judgment, and care of the church's peace and welfare. So recommending your Grace to the protection of Almighty "God,

"We shall ever rest at your Grace's service,

"Jo. ROFFENS.[a]
"Jo. OXON.[b]
"2 August, 1625."[d] "GUIL. MENEVEN."[c]

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[a] Buckeridge.
[b] Howson.
[c] Laud.

[d] Harl. MSS. No. 7000. f. 99. Orig. Printed in the Cabala, p. 105. ed. 1691.

The Bishops of London, Durham, Winton, Rochester, and St. David's to the Duke of Buckingham.

" MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

" UPON your late letters directed to the bishop of Winchester signifying his majesty's pleasure, that taking to him the bishops of London, Durham, Rochester, Oxford, and St. David's, or some of them, he and they should take into consideration the business concerning Mr. Montague's late book, and deliver their opinions touching the same, for the preservation of the truth and the peace of the church of England, together with the safety of Mr. Montague's person; We have met and considered, and for our particulars do think, That Mr. Montague in his book hath not affirmed any thing to be the doctrine of the church of England, but that which in our opinions is the doctrine of the church of England, as agreeable thereunto. And for the preservation of the peace of the church, we in humility do conceive, That his majesty shall do most graciously to prohibit all parties, members of the church of England, any further controversy of those questions by public preaching, or writing, or any other way, to the disturbance of the peace of this church for the time to come. And for any thing that may further concern Mr. Montague's person in that business, we humbly commend him to his majesty's gracious favour and pardon. And so we humbly recommend your Grace to the protection of the Almighty, resting

" Your Grace's faithful and humble Servants,

" GEO. LONDON.[a] " R. DUNELM.[b]
" LA. WINTON.[c]
" JO. ROFFENS.[d] " GUIL. MENEV."[e]

" From Winchester House,
" Jan^y. 16, 1625."[f]

[a] Montague.
[b] Neile.
[c] Andrews.
[d] Buckeridge.
[e] Laud.
[f] From the Harl. MS. 7003. f. 104.

Dr. Montague, bishop of Chichester, to the Duke of Buckingham.

" MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

" YOUR highness vouchsafed, at Windsor, to let me understand, that his majesty, my gracious master and sovereign, had taken me off from that trouble and vexation " which by some men's procurement I was put unto in the " house of commons. They, as I understand, think not so, " but intend to proceed against me so far as they can, as " having returned his majesty no other answer, but that I " was freed from imprisonment. It is true, that besides 20*l.* " which the serjeant had of me by exaction of fees, they " bound me unto him in a bond of 2000*l.* to appear before " them the first day of the next sessions. I beseech your " Grace, that as you have been pleased to tie me unto your " excellent, not only self, but also most honourable sister, in " that bond of obligation as never was poor scholar to such " worthies, so you would be pleased to let his majesty's servant " be left unto himself especially, for that which was authorized " by himself, and commanded by his father, my late master, " of ever blessed memory. If his majesty will be pleased to " call for their accusations against me, if I do not really and " thoroughly answer whatever is or can be imputed to me " out of my books, I will no further desire favour and protection of his majesty and your gracious self, but be willingly left unto my enemies. I must crave pardon for presuming thus to trouble your Grace, the rather because, " through a grievous affliction of the colic and stone, I am " not able personally to attend your Grace, whom, according " unto my most bounden duty, I daily recommend unto the " Almighty, being more obliged unto your noble self than " ever to any one.

" So remaining,
" Most humbly at your Grace's service ever,
" RI. MONTAGUE."

" Petworth, July 29," [1628.]

Extracted from his book entitled " The Gagger Gagged."

" 1. If any, or all the papists living, can prove, that the " Roman church, as it now stands in opposition to the church " of England, is either the catholic Church of Christ, or a " sound member of the catholic church,

" I will subscribe.

" 2. If any, or all the papists living, can prove unto me, " that the church of England, as it standeth at this day, is " not a true member of the catholic church,

" I will subscribe.

" 3. If any, or all the papists living, can prove unto me, " that any one point at this day maintained by the church of " Rome against the church of England, was the received doctrine of the catholic church, or concluded by any general " council, or particular approved council, or resolved of by " any father of credit, to be such, for five hundred years at " least after Christ,

" I will subscribe.

" RI. MONTAGUE."

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[a] Harl. MS. 7000. f. 106. Orig. Printed in the Cabala, p. 110.

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